



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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**Chervov on NATO Arms 'Compensation' for INF
PM111441 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jan 88 p 3**

[Interview with Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, by military observer Colonel V. Morozov: "Continuing the Disarmament Process"; date and place not given]

[Text] TRUD Military Observer V. Morozov met with N.F. Chervov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, and asked him to answer a number of questions on the problems of nuclear disarmament.

[Morozov] The question about who "won" more in the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is still being discussed among many people in the West and East. What can you say about this?

[Chervov] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an exhaustive answer to this question, saying that each side has conceded as much as was necessary to balance their interests in this specific sphere.

The Warsaw Pact state leaders' 11 December 1987 Berlin meeting stressed that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a step on a historic scale which is already having a beneficial effect on the planet's political climate, increasing mutual trust between the states, and strengthening hope for the triumph of realism and reason in the present difficult and contradictory, but also interlinked world.

Yes, it is true: The USSR has agreed to an asymmetric reduction and is eliminating over twice as many missiles (1,752 as against 859) and many more warheads for them. But it is not just a question of figures (although, they are, of course, very significant) and not who "won" and who "lost." Here the parties' many interests should be taken into consideration: political, military, moral, psychological, and others.

First, somebody had to take the first step to begin real nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union did so. This is our contribution and a great political and moral gain.

Second, although we are eliminating more missiles, the United States is eliminating many of its missiles. Stationed in Europe, intermediate-range and Pershing-2 missiles are capable of hitting facilities on USSR territory with a flight time to target of 8-10 minutes. Ground-launched cruise missiles [GLCM] are also dangerous in view of their low-level and high-accuracy flight. We recall that the yield of their warheads is from 80 to 200 kilotons—(8-15 times bigger than the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima), with a circular error probable of 30 meters. And, we shall say directly, the Pershings and GLCM's are blackmail weapons and a constant threat to

us. Now the Warsaw Pact countries will be rid of this very real threat. The United States and its allies are receiving their gains in Europe: The Soviet SS-20 missiles are being eliminated.

We shall also note that the defense capability of the USSR and its allies is not ensured only by intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. There are, as is known, also other military means which reliably ensure our defense. It can be firmly stated that the USSR's defense capability has not suffered in any way.

The United States and NATO attempted to blackmail us and to achieve military superiority by increasing their forward-based nuclear facilities. But, as is known, superiority was not achieved, either in strategic or tactical weapons or in intermediate-range nuclear means.

So, the significance of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is that the first step has been taken to eliminate U.S. forward-based nuclear means in Europe. History has decided that elimination begins with intermediate-range nuclear means. Thus, a real threat to the territory of the USSR and its allies has been removed in terms of this class of missiles. So, the point is not that there is arithmetical balance but, above all, that Soviet land's defense capability has in no way lessened. Its security has become greater—as, by the way, the security of all the countries in the world has increased.

[Morozov] How is the elimination of nuclear warheads envisaged under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles? How is the use of fissile material envisaged in this respect?

[Chervov] Under the treaty, the nuclear devices can be removed from the missiles before they arrive at the destruction site. The nose section, including the warhead without the nuclear charge, is to be crushed, flattened, or destroyed by explosion together with the missile. The nuclear charges removed from the nose sections together with the fissile material are to be sent to the appropriate enterprises for salvage. The material can be used at the side's discretion, including as fuel for nuclear power stations. Verification of the procedure for dismantling nuclear warheads and salvaging nuclear charges is not envisaged by the treaty.

[Morozov] What nuclear weapons will the contracting parties be left with in Europe following the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles?

[Chervov] The Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces in Europe will be left with tactical nuclear arms (strike aircraft, missiles, nuclear artillery, and so forth). They are dual-purpose weapons, that is, they can use conventional and nuclear munitions.

In accordance with the Budapest program for the reduction of armed forces and nuclear and conventional armaments in Europe (from the Atlantic to the Urals),

the socialist allies are proposing a reduction in dual-purpose weapons as well as a conventional arms cut. This question is being discussed in Vienna, where terms of reference for future talks are being worked out. There is every reason to suppose that the agreed terms will make it possible to start the actual talks this summer. Obviously, following a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms Britain and France will join in the nuclear arms reduction process.

[Morozov] What difficulties have to be overcome in the matter of working out terms of reference for holding talks on armed forces and armaments in Europe?

[Chervov] First, reciprocal and simultaneous cuts. Without this, the talks are pointless. It is important here to establish the imbalances and asymmetry in the sides' armed forces and armaments. We suggested this a long time ago to the NATO countries: Establish the imbalances and then decide what to cut and on what side. Second, different approaches to the reduction of dual-purpose weapons, that is, those which can use both nuclear and conventional munitions (strike aircraft, tactical missiles, nuclear artillery). In fact, nuclear armaments of this type cannot be separated from conventional armaments, since they are the same weapons. Moreover, the NATO countries are reluctant to include strike aircraft, of which they have more at the moment, in the talks. These two questions, which are the main ones, are proving the difficult ones to resolve in working out the terms of reference for the future talks.

[Morozov] There are continuing calls from NATO for "compensation" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which are to be eliminated. What can you say about this?

[Chervov] In fact, in response to the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles NATO is working on plans to "upgrade arms" in Europe: by stationing more missile-carrying aircraft and sea-launched cruise missiles on ships and building up conventional armaments. These actions run counter to the spirit of the signed treaty. If they are not stopped, they could give a new twist to the arms race and make the signed treaty less effective. Such actions are intolerable.

[Morozov] Specifically what "compensation" measures is NATO envisaging?

[Chervov] NATO's "compensation" plans specifically envisage:

using forward air bases in West European (Britain, Spain, and Turkey), North African (Morocco), and Near East (Egypt) countries for stationing U.S. B-52 strategic bombers "if necessary";

stationing U.S. FB-111 medium bombers (which carry guided missiles and bombs) in Britain;

strengthening the U.S. Air Force tactical grouping in Western Europe with F-111, F-15, and F-16 tactical fighters;

stationing new missiles with a range of about 300 km in the FRG;

allocating some missiles on U.S. Navy submarines to targets previously included among the Pershing-2 missile targets;

deploying many hundreds of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles on ships;

modernizing and building up British and French nuclear weapons;

building up other armaments, including fundamentally new types of conventional weapons.

The NATO leadership's plan is that the "arms upgrading" will prevent any dilution of Europe's saturation with weapons. It will lead to a new round of the arms race. If the new NATO "arms upgrading" takes place the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will effectively have no significance at all, since in a few years' time there will be more missiles in Europe than there are at the moment. "Arms upgrading" would not strengthen European security. Its direct purpose is to circumvent the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The situation is such that NATO is removing intermediate-range missiles with one hand and immediately putting other nuclear weapons in their place with the other hand.

This is reckless action. In no way does it accord with the new political thinking. It is to be hoped that NATO's "compensation" plans will not be implemented and that the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, having been ratified in the USSR and in the United States, will soon be put into practice.

Chernyshev on Discrepancy in Arms Figures
LD111630 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1450 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] MOSCOW, 11 Jan (TASS)—Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer on military affairs, writes:

In connection with the forthcoming ratification of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, representatives of certain circles in the West are increasingly often issuing "warnings" about the fact that once U.S. missiles are eliminated, West Europe will, allegedly, be "unarmed" in the face of the "vast superiority" of the Warsaw Pact over NATO in the sphere of conventional armaments. Assertions like these are based on such tendentious official "research" as the Pentagon's brochure "Soviet Military Power" and similar NATO publications. But what can be said about these documents?

First, an immediate warning is sounded by the highly substantial variations in the evaluations they make even of their own arms arsenals. Take, for example, the number of tanks. NATO figures give the Bloc 17,730 tanks, whereas the Pentagon data has 24,250. This is a substantial difference of 6,500 items. The question then arises as to whether it is possible to trust the evaluations of the number of arms of the opposing side made by people who can't even add up their own weapons.

Second, doubts as to the correctness of Western calculations are raised by their very methodology. The armed forces and the armaments of France and Spain are completely excluded from calculations on the NATO side, whereas their "contribution" is most substantial: more than 800,000 servicemen, 20 divisions, 2,000 tanks, 900 aircraft, 450 helicopters, and so forth. At the same time, the National Guard and the organized reserve formations of the United States are not taken into the calculation, the territorial forces of other NATO countries are clearly understated, while the reserves on the Warsaw Pact side are—overstated. The stockpiled reserves of armaments and military equipment are completely "ignored." So, on the NATO side only tanks in combat units and formations are taken into account, whereas there are almost 10,500 of them in European depots.

Third, some indices are calculated most arbitrarily in Western analyses. For example, some idea of the correlation of the conventional weapons of the sides may be gained by a comparison of the number of combat-ready divisions which they have; precisely combat-ready ones since it is only these which may be used to conduct combat operations without effecting additional mobilization measures. In the West, however, both combat-ready, below full strength, and even reserve divisions are summarized into a single common index when appraising Warsaw Pact forces. Evidently realizing that they had really "overdone it" a little, the military strategists of NATO not all that long ago—as reported by THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE—"corrected" things in the direction of reducing their appraisal of the number of combat-ready divisions of the Warsaw Pact from 173 to 115. But even this "new" appraisal bears no relation to reality: In fact, there are 78 such divisions, whereas NATO, taking France and Spain into account, has 94 combat-ready divisions.

Fourth, the representatives of the United States and certain other NATO countries, in publicly stating an "overall superiority" of the Warsaw Pact, are using individual, private indicators that play into their hands, keeping quiet about those areas in which the NATO superiority can be confirmed by official Western data. Let us take, for example, tactical strike aviation. According to the "Soviet Military Power" brochure, the correlation in this sphere is 1.5-1.0 in favor of NATO: the Warsaw Pact has 2,300 ground attack aircraft and fighter-bombers, while NATO (even excluding France and

Spain) has 3,450. And if the West Europeans are concerned by the fact that the Warsaw Pact has more tanks, no less concern is aroused in the socialist countries by the NATO superiority in such offensive weapons as strike aviation. An analogous position can be observed with the data for helicopters: According to the same brochure, NATO has 1,250 combat helicopters (the Warsaw Pact has 950) and 6,000 attack helicopters and transport helicopters (the Warsaw Pact has 1,950, that is, less than one third).

All that has been enumerated indicates how the "myths" are created. In fact, there is an overall balance in Europe in the sphere of conventional arms, as has been noted even by eminent military experts in the West on more than one occasion. One more thing is also quite clear: In conditions of an approximate overall balance, there are imbalances in certain types of arms, that have developed in some cases to the advantage of NATO and in others to that of the Warsaw Pact. If the correlation of forces between the sides is objectively assessed, the picture is as follows. The two sides have an approximately equal number of armed forces personnel and an approximately equal amount of artillery. The Warsaw Pact has a slight superiority over NATO for armor equipment and anti-air defense interceptors. NATO has the advantage in the number of combat-ready divisions, antitank weapons, fighter-bombers, ground attack aircraft, and helicopters.

At the same time, the present balance by no means suits the USSR and its allies, for this balance is at a very high level. In the present conditions not only a nuclear but also a conventional war is lethally dangerous for Europe. It is precisely for this reason that the Warsaw Pact member states so persistently propose to the NATO countries to transfer the balance to a lower level by way of significant reductions of the armed forces and weapons in Europe, express readiness on a reciprocal basis to seek the solution of the problem of imbalances of individual types of weapons. Of the types of weapons of which NATO possesses more, let it carry out greater reductions accordingly; of those of which the Warsaw Pact possesses more, it will eliminate without hesitation the "excess." The result will be a more secure Europe for everyone.

Bogdanov Comments on Rostow Article in NYT
LD072039 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1402 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—TASS Military Affairs Observer Vladimir Bogdanov writes: In his time, Eugene Rostow, who occupied the post of director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, appealed to Americans to resign themselves to the thought that they are not living in a postwar period, but in a prewar one. He also tried to prove the "acceptability" of nuclear war since, he said, "the human race is capable of rapidly restoring itself."

After a lengthy period in the shadows, he is again claiming the role of ideologist for the opponents of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles "may turn out to be a trap for the West." He calls upon the U.S. Administration "not to take an irreversible step in the sphere of arms control."

Having pretensions to objectivity, Eugene Rostow even takes issue with people who call the Washington agreement "a new Munich" and admits that at some time in the future, but not at present, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles "may promote stability" if numerous conditions that do not exist today, will be created in advance.

However, the real stand taken by Rostow is manifest when he makes recommendations to like-minded Americans regarding the campaign against the treaty. "It is not important which procedure is chosen," he exclaims. "This aim can be achieved in different ways: by delaying the handing over of the treaty to the Senate, by delaying its ratification by the Senate, by the Senate accepting amendments linking the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces with other negotiations, or by the President holding up its ratification after the Senate's consent has been received."

To put it briefly, any means are good for averting a reduction in the level of military confrontation. According to Rostow, neither an uncontrolled arms race nor even a nuclear war can have catastrophic consequences for our world. Most of all he is afraid of compromises and, as he puts it, "illusions of detente."

In the past, Eugene Rostow has openly discussed the possibility of the deaths of millions of Americans in a nuclear war. Judging from the article in THE NEW YORK TIMES, over the years his views on the problems of war and peace have remained practically unchanged.

Scientists Appeal to U.S. Counterparts

LD072043 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1640 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—Soviet scientists have called upon their American colleagues to do everything possible to attain the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which was signed in Washington in December. The appeal was adopted at a meeting of the members of the scientific council for investigating the problems of peace and disarmament, which took place today. The document says, in particular, that the treaty is a most important landmark in the creation of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence.

The treaty bears witness to the fact that new political thinking is making headway in the modern world. The results of the meeting in Washington have shown that an open dialogue, and the patient search for a balance of interests of the sides and for political solutions, constitute a path for which there is no alternative, the appeal notes. The members of the scientific council stated their resolve to facilitate by all means the development of dialogue between East and West, and to assist the development of cooperation between scientists in the resolution of topical human problems.

Shevardnadze 'Chill' Postpones Fischer Trip

LD121315 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT
12 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The visit which was paid to the Soviet Union today by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer "is somewhat put off because of the chill suffered by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze". Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said today. He was addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen.

Answering questions from newsmen, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said the scheduled visits by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to West Germany and Spain "have not been cancelled".

'International Situation—Questions and Answers'

LD090351 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 8 Jan 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Vladimir Pasko, all-union foreign political commentator; with General Yuriy Viktorovich Lebedev, first deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff; Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, TASS Collegium member and TASS foreign information editor; Sergey Pravdin, "a colleague of Pasko;" Yuriy Aleksandrovich (Rezheto), international affairs lawyer and doctor of law; Vyacheslav Georgiyevich Lavrentyev, "a commentator and colleague of Pasko's;" Igor Olegovich Surguchev, international affairs correspondent]

[Excerpts] [Pasko] Hello, Comrades! I will start with the letters touching on disarmament problems, beginning first with those concerning the elimination of nuclear weapons. As you know, the past year laid the basis for this process. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, is being evaluated as a major event in world politics.

This treaty can only be welcomed, Comrade Krakhaleva, from the village of Pikhtovka in Novosibirsk Oblast, writes. Sergey Andreyevich Yashchenko, of Volgograd, is of the same opinion. He believes the process of reducing arsenals needs to be vigorously continued. The questions for a peaceful future need to be resolved now and not put off to tomorrow, Comrade Yashchenko writes.

At the same time, letters from a number of listeners also reflect a certain anxiety. Will the Soviet Union's security not suffer with the implementation of this treaty? Will the United States not deceive us by retaining some part of its missiles in circumvention of the treaty?

I have asked two highly competent experts to help shed light on all this, and I would like to introduce them to you: General Lebedev, first deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff. Yuriy Viktorovich is in our studio for the first time. The other participant is already known to most of you: Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, TASS Collegium member and TASS foreign information editor in chief.

The first question, or more precisely two questions, is for you to answer, Vitaliy Yakovlevich. They are asked by Comrade Tyutrin from Orekhovo-Zuyevo: What is the reaction in the world to the treaty? The second question: Just how sincere is the joy in Western Europe about destroying the missiles?

[Chukseyev] It has been exactly 1 month since the Washington summit, and its results and influence on world public opinion can already be evaluated fairly fully and comprehensively.

In connection with the talks of the leaders of the two great powers, it is no exaggeration to say that millions of words have been written. They have been the topic of innumerable television and film features. The discussion and analysis of this event is continuing throughout the world.

Explaining such an immense interest, the British newspaper THE OBSERVER wrote: In a political context, the world's peoples now regard the earth as a more secure place than a year ago. At last we have seen two great powers capable of conducting a dialogue from a commonsense stance.

Here is a highly noteworthy report by the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS, which, in accordance with tradition, has singled out the 10 main events in the world over the past year. In first place is the Soviet-U.S. summit. In second place is the drop in the dollar exchange rate and the situation on the world financial markets. In third place: the social and economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leader's visit and the signing in the U.S. capital of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have no doubt exerted a marked influence on public opinion in the United States. The changes in the tone of the reactions of the mass media as the visit developed and the meetings Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev held in Washington with leading representatives of various sections of U.S. society—artists, businessmen, public figures, journalists—were especially noticeable to us, the Soviet correspondents who covered the Washington meeting. It is safe to say that in many respects they contributed to swinging the pendulum of public opinion toward the USSR. This is convincingly shown by numerous polls, which have become a kind of industry in the United States. This

applies first of all to the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which has the overwhelming support of the majority of the public. The effect of this treaty is so great that it has changed U.S. political traditions. Previously, in the pre-election campaign—and the presidential campaign is now gathering momentum—the lion's share of attention was attracted by internal problems. Now these have been relegated to second place by the missile agreement. It has been calculated that Republicans, by a ratio of 8 to 1, and Democrats, by a ratio of 15 to 1, intend to cast their votes during this year's elections for the candidate who supports this treaty.

However, it is erroneous to assume that after this meeting a radical breakthrough has taken place in bilateral relations. Yes, as a result of it, it has been possible to shake the negative stereotypes, the idea of the Soviet Union as some kind of hostile force. However, they have been implanted in the minds of Americans for many decades, and to remove them requires persistent work. You must also take into account the fact that just a few days after the Washington talks, right-wing forces in the United States took vigorous measures in order to try to block implementation of the accords reached. They are again seeking to relegate to second place the acute problems of disarmament or link them to the allegedly limited glasnost in our country, raising questions about Soviet emigration or the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Sometimes they even resort to outright forgery.

For instance, in Washington they have started circulating claims alleging that the Soviet side's stance regarding the U.S. "Star Wars" program has changed and that the USSR will no longer stand in the way of the practical realization of SDI. In doing so, the relevant clauses of the final document of the meeting are disregarded; this says precisely that the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce by half its strategic offensive armaments, on condition that the 1972 ABM Treaty is observed.

Somewhat different arguments by opponents to the agreements can be heard now in Western Europe, even though of course public opinion and the majority of public figures there also welcomed the results of the Washington meeting. Warnings are being heard all the time that the accord on the double-zero option and the decision to try to achieve a third nuclear zero is allegedly a Soviet-U.S. deal at the expense of the security of European states.

So who won in Washington? Well, common sense and reason were the winners at the meeting between the leaders of the two great powers. Although the victory achieved is not yet the very greatest, it is important from the political and psychological viewpoints because it corresponds to the aspirations and the interests of millions of people in all parts of the world.

[Pasko] Comrade Yevstratov from Kuybyshev asks: What is the proportion covered by the treaty? Is it 50% or is it the full amount, as many as there are? He adds: How many units have to be destroyed in the Soviet Union and how many by the United States? As you see, it turns out that not everyone is clear about this question; there is even some confusion. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is being associated with a treaty on a 50% reduction in offensive strategic armaments while retaining the ABM Treaty. Yuriy Viktorovich, please.

[Lebedev] The Treaty on Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles envisions the complete physical elimination of all missiles in these classes on a global scale. I would like to remind you that the intermediate-range missiles include missiles with a range of between 1,000 and 5,500 km; shorter-range missiles include missiles with ranges from 500 km to 1,000 km. The Soviet-U.S. treaty, therefore, envisions completely eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles: intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Of course, there cannot be any association here with a treaty reducing offensive strategic weapons. As far as quantities are concerned, under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty signed in Washington on 8 December, I can give the following figures: The Soviet Union is reducing intermediate-range missiles by 826 units, and the United States, by 689 units; as far as shorter-range missiles are concerned, the Soviet Union is reducing these by 926 units, and the United States, by 170 units. This would seem not to be a very large percentage of the total quantity of nuclear arms. It is considered that it amounts to approximately 4%. It has to be said, however, that the conclusion of this kind of treaty and its implementation will make it possible to change substantially for the better the security of both European and Asian countries.

[Pasko] Yuriy Viktorovich, if possible could you explain, especially for our listeners, what is meant by the term offensive strategic armaments?

[Lebedev] By offensive strategic armaments, we mean armaments that include the following elements: intercontinental ballistic missiles, with a range of 5,500 km; included, too, are ballistic missiles on submarines, and these are mainly missiles on modern nuclear submarines or modern missiles on older submarines. We also include heavy bombers, that is to say, the types of aircraft that have already been defined in the SALT II treaty and are no doubt now going to feature in a new treaty on reducing offensive strategic weapons, which is now being worked out by our country and the United States in Geneva.

These three components make up the basis of the armaments that are going to be reduced. I have to say, however, that in Washington the sides agreed at the highest level that long-range sea-based cruise missiles, that is to say, with a range in excess of 600 km, will also be limited. These missiles will have their own separate

sublevel of 400 units—as will be agreed by the sides—and they will be deployed [razmeshchatsya] on a limited number of submarines, on two types of submarines, and on a limited number of types of surface ships. These armaments comprise the list of armaments that are liable to reduction and limitation under the treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

[Pasko] Let us return to the treaty that has already been signed. A number of our listeners ask: What is the most important thing about this treaty: the military or the political side? Was the treaty important enough to merit signing at such a high level? These questions, I think, are in a similar vein to another question that also crops up in letters in one form or another: Is it possible for the Americans to try to trick us over observance of the treaty, and what is our attitude toward that? You can see that some people are cautious about the treaty, and in my view this is natural. The aggressiveness of the United States toward the Soviet Union and toward socialism as a whole and that country's militarist policy lie at the basis of this caution. Comrade Gyaul from Kishinev thinks the United States is quite incapable of developing, if it is not urging on an arms race, and that its signing of the treaty results, therefore, not from any desire for peace but from selfish considerations.

[Lebedev] The Treaty on the Elimination of U.S. and Soviet Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is, I would say, important in both the military and the political respects. If you speak about the military significance of this treaty, as you yourselves understand, two classes of nuclear missiles are being eliminated, that is to say, several thousand vehicles capable of delivering lethal weapons. Therefore, the likelihood of nuclear war breaking out is being reduced, and the security of Europe and Asia is being increased. Perhaps the first step in nuclear disarmament really does affect only a small quantity of the nuclear potential on our planet. Remember, however, that just 5% of the nuclear weapon stockpiles is enough to destroy all living things on earth. At the same time, a new stage is being opened up in the process of real nuclear disarmament. It is also important that the first step has been taken along the path toward a nuclear-free world; in other words, the program for eliminating nuclear weapons on earth, which was set out in the statement of 15 January 1986 by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary, has been confirmed in action. Its realistic nature has been demonstrated.

[Pasko] But what about the question as to whether the Americans are capable of tricking us over observance of this treaty?

[Lebedev] In deciding to conclude the treaty, we proceeded primarily on the basis that both sides to the treaty will strictly observe the norms of international law. That is how we are acting, and that is how we expect the United States will also act. At the same time, the Soviet Union considers it important for the very strictest verification [kontrol] measures to be established on the

observance of the treaty provisions by the sides. Such measures can be implemented both by national and technical means for verification [kontrol] mechanism, which is unique in its newness and in its scale has been laid down in the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. It includes virtually all verification [kontrol] measures, national and technical means, and notification, which makes it possible to raise the effectiveness of the national and technical means. On-site inspection will also be carried out, both of the destruction of the missiles and of their production. In a word, the verification [kontrol] envisioned is a kind which creates confidence that no violations—if there are such—will remain unnoticed by the other side.

[Pasko] But what about the point of view put forward by Comrade Gyaul from Kishinev?

[Chukseyev] Clearly another way of putting this question is to ask whether militarization is an immutable law of the development of capitalist society. I would like to answer this theoretical premise with the practical example of two mighty countries of the West: Japan and the United States. As is known, notwithstanding pressure from its U.S. ally and also from certain circles within its own country, Tokyo is still keeping its military spending within 1% of its entire budget, which is apparently a minimal figure compared to other capitalist states. Nevertheless, over the past few decades, Japan has performed a veritable leap forward in economic development, overtaking its partners in the West by a very long way. Literally a few days ago, there was a report in the press to the effect that Japanese companies had seized the absolute top position in world production of semiconductors, thereby dealing another blow to their U.S. competitors. Then there is the example of the United States, which has placed its stake upon the militarization of its economy. As a result of the useless squandering of resources in that way, spending for which society had no need, the U.S. budget deficit has reached the enormous figure of \$148 billion, and the national debt has reached \$2.8 trillion. For several months now the world's financial markets have been experiencing shocks following the fall in the rate of exchange for the dollar. In other words, hypermilitarization leads in the final analysis to aggravation of the situation in that country and takes the economies of others to fever pitch. Of course in the United States, too, they have been compelled to take into account the burden that an arms race lasting many years places on the country's economy. But the main thing is the powerful effect of public opinion both in the United States and throughout the world.

Of course it is not easy to get rid of nuclear missiles. The current opinion is that they are a symbol of a country's power. But I would like to make the observation that naked pragmatism is alien to our policy. The task that was set by the 27th CPSU Congress is an ideological one in the highest degree: to secure for the country the kind of conditions in which the Soviet people may work increasingly on raising the standard of living and quality

of life. Sometimes we hear the view that we entered into agreement with the United States on the basis of their zero option. In advancing this option a number of years ago, the West placed its stake on our rejecting it. It has to be said that for a long time that calculation paid off. But what are 100 Pershing-2's in Europe? In practical terms these represent a potential capability on the part of the United States at any moment to create for us the military threat of a rapid strike at vital centers. At the same time, our SS-20 missile arsenal, which is four times as great, does not possess the same capability regarding the United States. The Soviet leadership took a realistic look at the comparative value of our missiles and those of the United States. It was here, indeed, that the new political thinking was manifested, with the capability of the missiles to accomplish specific tasks rather than their number taken as the criterion. From this point of view, the claim to authorship of the zero option undoubtedly belongs to us. There are also some questions about the technical side of the matter. How are the missile warheads going to be destroyed? What is going to happen to the missiles, their fuel and their equipment? Is it going to be possible to use the charges in the warheads for peaceful purposes? It seems to me that we can understand the people asking these questions: They all regret the waste of the property and the resources that have been invested. Surely there must be some way of making use of all this, exclaims Khodyrev, a retiree from Sochi. Sergey Shashlov, from the workers settlement of (?Kuinzhendskiy) in Volgograd Oblast asks a different question: In what way is it at all possible to destroy nuclear weapons?

[Lebedev] During the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the related equipment, and ancillary facilities, it is envisioned that a considerable part of the equipment, such as power-generation equipment, means of communications, transport facilities—meaning the chassis from the launching installations of these missiles—will certainly be preserved for use in our national economy. That is to say, they will be used for purposes that do not run counter to the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

As far as the missiles are concerned, the missiles are to be destroyed. There are several means by which they can be destroyed. The fuel can be burned. The missiles can be launched. Though the number of such launches is restricted by the treaty, a small number of these missiles can be launched here. The elimination of the missiles will primarily be carried out by means of directly blowing up a bunch of missiles by putting TNT underneath them. This is of course the cheapest and the most ecologically safe method. As far as the apparatus that might be in these missiles is concerned, the automated equipment in particular will be removed and will be given to factories. The automated equipment contains precious metals, and these will of course be preserved. As far as the warheads themselves are concerned, they will be removed from the missiles. The nuclear charge devices will be dismantled from the warhead cases. The sides will send the nuclear

charge devices to factories where the nuclear charges will be withdrawn from them and utilized in accordance with the existing practice of the sides. The warhead cases, with their nuclear charges now removed, will have to be delivered to the places where the relevant missiles are being eliminated. They will be eliminated there by means of crushing and flattening so that they can then be taken to factories for resmelting of the metal. The process of eliminating the warhead cases, like the missiles as a whole, is subject to verification [kontrol] by means of on-site inspection.

In a broader context, the question remains: In what way is it ever possible to destroy nuclear weapons? It is not a simple question. It would be possible to carry out these operations of blowing up nuclear weapons at a great depth beneath the earth's surface. That, however, would be a lengthy and very expensive process. Is it going to be possible to use the nuclear substance that is made available following the elimination of the nuclear warheads for peaceful purposes? In principle, this is possible. It is well known, for example, that various economic tasks can be accomplished with the help of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. It is possible to create underground oil storage reservoirs, to increase the yield of oil deposits and to carry out soundings of the geological structure of the earth's crust. There have been many reports about peaceful nuclear explosions of that kind in our press. In addition, the nuclear charges of the warheads, after they have been processed in the appropriate way, of course, can be used at our nuclear power stations and in the nuclear reactors of icebreakers, for example.

[Pasko] Comrades, I sincerely thank you for taking part in our program, but before you leave the studio I have just one more question, from Ivan Grigoryevich Pikh, who is from Lvov. He is interested in Dr Hyder. Where is he now? What is he doing? Vitaliy Yakovlevich, do you have any information in this connection?

[Chukseyev] Charles Hyder is now actively taking part in the U.S. presidential election campaign as an independent candidate. You will no doubt remember that on 23 September 1986, this well-known U.S. astrophysicist went on a hunger strike, demanding that the U.S. Government pledge to take concrete steps to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and renounce the policy of military intervention abroad. During his hunger strike, Dr Hyder lost nearly 70 kg, about half his body weight. At that time he consumed only some 4 to 6 liters of water per day and a little salt. On 1 May last year he ended his hunger strike, stating that he would continue the struggle by other means, by taking part in the election campaign. The scientist addressed a declaration to the American people, stating his intention to seek genuine democratic changes in the U.S. Constitution. He called for relations between peoples to be built on a basis of mutual respect, equality, and the rejection of violence. During the election campaign, he has been touring the country to explain his program. I would recall that Dr Hyder began his hunger strike when he joined in a

round-the-clock antinuclear watch that U.S. peace champions have been keeping since 1981 in Lafayette Park opposite the White House. That watch continues to this day. During the summit in Washington, we had an opportunity to speak to those taking part in it, and this is what they had to say: We welcome the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We hope it will become the beginning of the road leading to a nuclear-free future.

[Pasko] Comrades, once again, very many thanks to you. [passage omitted] Here is a question about the granting of political asylum. It is asked by Comrade Lafitskiy from Moscow. Have there been a lot of cases like the one a year ago involving the family of Arnold Lokshin? I have the impression that his family was accepted into our country not simply as people who had asked for political asylum, but as a major oncologist needed by the medical sector in our country, Comrade Lafitskiy writes. To be honest, I did not get that impression. We granted Lokshin asylum not as a specialist but as someone around whom an atmosphere of intolerance had formed in the United States. But I have asked Yuriy Aleksandrovich (Rezhetvo), a doctor of juridical sciences and lawyer dealing with international matters, to answer your question in greater detail. Thank you, Yuriy Aleksandrovich:

[[Rezhetvo]] It has to be said that in our country the granting of political asylum to foreigners is a constitutional principle. Asylum of this kind is granted to foreign citizens who are being persecuted for defending the interests of the workers and the cause of peace, for participating in revolutionary and national liberation movements, for progressive social and political, scientific, or other creative activity. Throughout its history the Soviet state has repeatedly granted asylum to many antifascists and progressive figures of science and culture. In recent years, political asylum has also been granted to several foreign citizens, including Americans. Indeed, last year, as is known, the family of Arnold Lokshin, the American oncologist, settled in our country. However, it was granted asylum because Lokshin and his family were subjected to persecution and threats in the United States by virtue of his involvement in the civil rights movement. Generally speaking, it must be said that political asylum is granted in our country not to certain specially selected individuals, but to people who according to the 1951 international convention on the status of refugees have fully justified fears of becoming the victims of persecution for political reasons and who ask for this asylum. By way of example, it can be said that some months ago Roberts, a black American soldier, asked for asylum in our country. He feared persecution because of the racism that holds sway in the U.S. Army. He was granted this asylum and he settled in the Turkmenian SSR, where he began to work as a snake catcher, a job he chose. Later, however, for personal reasons, he decided to leave our country and go abroad.

[Pasko] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, reading the questions that are sent in by our listeners, you get the impression

that many people or at least some people consider that we grant political asylum virtually automatically: A person only has to ask for it, and we grant it to him. To what extent does this reflect reality and, if possible, perhaps you would say a few words about the procedure.

[[Rezhetvo]] Of course this is not the case. There is nothing automatic about the granting of political asylum in our country. In this connection, there is both a constitutional principle and international documents, one of which I mentioned before. When a person states that he is likely to become the victim of persecution on political grounds or is already a victim of persecution and asks for this asylum, he applies to the relevant Soviet offices which will then verify the authenticity of the reasons given as grounds for requesting political asylum. It is only then, after careful checking, that the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopts the appropriate decision in this connection.

[Pasko] So it is done at an extremely high level?

[[Rezhetvo]] At an extremely high level, a very responsible level, the highest level of state power in our country, so that the decision made is fully grounded.

[Pasko] Thank you very much. [passage omitted] Comrade Potala, a war and labor veteran from Nikopol asks us to explain the current domestic and foreign policies of Sudan following the fall of the Numayri regime and the present state of Soviet-Sudanese relations. I will turn this over to Igor Surguchev, a journalist who deals with international affairs. Please go ahead, Igor Olegovich.

[Surguchev] It is not quite 3 years since the reactionary, pro-Western regime of Numayri fell. Bearing in mind that this is a very short period of time, it is possible to speak of considerable changes in Sudan's life. They are reflected most vividly in the restoration of citizens' democratic rights and freedoms and in the free functioning of a large number of political parties and public organizations, and perhaps, too, in the country's foreign policy. The new Sudanese leadership rejected the old course, which was oriented exclusively toward the West, and mainly toward the United States.

In the international arena, the government headed by Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi takes an anti-imperialist stance and favors strengthening Arab unity and establishing a new international economic order. Within a policy of positive neutrality and good-neighborliness, it has restored relations and cooperation with Libya and Syria. Once again, following a long period of coolness, relations between Sudan and the socialist countries, including the USSR, are developing successfully. Sudanese leaders stress their interest in strengthening and widening mutually advantageous links with our country. Last year the republic was visited by a number of Soviet delegations, including a parliamentary delegation. The important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union aimed at ending the arms race and at reducing international tension are

valued highly and supported in Sudan. As far as the economic condition of the Sudanese state is concerned, this is very serious. It is the result of the long rule of the Numayri dictatorship and the prolonged internal conflict in the south of the country. The struggle of the South Sudanese rebels against the implantation of Islam and in favor of regional autonomy—a struggle which began during the days of Numayri—has acquired separatist tones. The fact that this problem remains unsolved not only hinders the efforts of the Sudanese authorities to improve the country's economy but also makes Sudan's relations with neighboring states, Ethiopia and Chad, more difficult, giving rise to border incidents. But the main cause of the social and economic troubles is the enormous external debt, which has reached \$12 billion. In order to pay it off the government has been compelled to raise prices. In 2 years they have risen by more than 3 times for meat and by 15 times for housing. The Sudanese currency, the pound, has been devalued by 80%. An acute shortage of resources is compelling the government to examine the question of putting some state enterprises into private hands. Under these conditions it has also had to make concessions to the IMF in order to obtain its agreement to continue financial aid to Sudan. These concessions bring with them a deterioration in the material condition of the workers. The economic crisis is also destabilizing the political situation in the country. Since July of last year the two-party coalition government of al-Mahdi has been governing with the help of a state of emergency. This measure, in the opinion of Sudanese Communists, is evidence of the inability of the bourgeois parties to use conventional methods to solve the problems of Sudan, which require deep reforms. [passage omitted]

Rogachev Holds Briefing in Moscow 12 Jan

On Relations With China

LD121532 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] At a briefing that has taken place in Moscow, Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev assessed the Chinese magazine's request to Mikhail Gorbachev for an interview as significant. We take it, said Rogachev, as a sign of change in Soviet-Chinese relations between the two Communist Parties, the Soviet and the Chinese, but there is hardly any doubt, Rogachev pointed out, that the relations will be restored.

On Cambodian Issue

LD121541 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"The Kampuchean problem can be settled provided there is goodwill and readiness to make mutually acceptable concessions," said Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister. Today he spoke here at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

"At least the started dialogue between various Kampuchean sides can be regarded as advances in the process of settling situation related to Kampuchea. This is, above all, a meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea, and Prince Narodom Sihanouk in Paris."

Igor Rogachev noted that in several days' time there would probably be a meeting between these two leaders in Paris. There is also information that a third meeting in Pyongyang will probably be held, about which Prince Narodom Sihanouk had said. [sentence as received]

"Kampuchean themselves should settle Kampuchean affairs. It is a very important principle," noted the USSR deputy foreign minister. "The Soviet side has repeatedly stated that it is ready to promote a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean situation."

"The dialogue between various Kampuchean sides has started and it is very important not to raise obstacles to it but to promote it."

Perfilyev Holds Press Conference 7 Jan

Discusses GOSR Amnesty

LD072334 Moscow in French to France and Belgium 1800 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] At a press briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, its spokesman Vadim Perfilyev categorically denied the claims by Claude Malhuret, the French secretary of state for human rights, that the Soviet Union had rescinded the amnesty announced on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The amnesty in the USSR had been spread over 6 months and was now terminating, said Vadim Perfilyev. It has covered a large number of convicts, including those convicted under articles of the Penal Code considered as political prisoners in the West. A large number of convicts have been released, others have seen their sentences commuted, and a number of cases have been closed. This is not the first time that Claude Malhuret has made false accusations, said Vadim Perfilyev. It is to be hoped that in the future this official personality will avoid resorting to sources of information which are not bona fide.

On French Journalist's Arrest

LD071547 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 7 Jan 88

["At USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—"The Soviet side did not leave without attention the appeal by French representatives at various levels concerning the lot of the French citizen Alain Guillo detained by the Afghan authorities for entering Afghanistan illegally with an

armed group of counter-revolutionaries (dushmans)", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here today that the Soviet Union invariably stressed that this issue is within the competence of the Afghan authorities which display a humane approach to the case of this Frenchman.

Responding to the question of the possible role of Zahir Shah Mohammad, former king of Afghan, in a provisional Afghan Government, Yuriy Alekseyev, head of the Middle East Department, said that all proposals by the Afghan Government for a dialogue were rejected. "The Afghan leadership has repeatedly expressed readiness to launch a dialogue with all opposition forces on forming a coalition government body", he said. "As for the Soviet Union, it supports the steps by the Afghan leadership to insure national reconciliation and establish peace in Afghanistan", Alekseyev stressed.

On Shevardnadze's Spain Visit

*LD081352 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0955 GMT 8 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow, 8 January (TASS)—"The official visit to Spain of Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, which is planned for the second half of January, appears in our view to be one of the important links in the dialogue between East and West and will promote the deepening of mutual understanding between European states in the new stage of the evolution of affairs in Europe and in the world," stated Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The fact is appreciated in the Soviet Union, he said in an interview with TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy, that Madrid was among the first West European capitals to support the "double-zero" for Europe and then the "global double-zero." The tone of the statement of the Spanish Government was in many ways consonant with the approaches of the Soviet Union towards the complex of disarmament problems.

The fact that Spain bases the growth of its international prestige not on having at its disposal nuclear weapons but on rejecting them and on having a virtually nuclear-free status cannot fail to cause satisfaction, continued the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet side also sees Spain's recent signing of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in this light.

Soviet-Spanish relations, including political relations, have taken on a regular nature in recent years. Bilateral contacts in the trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres are growing wider. "The discussion and the talks of the USSR minister of foreign affairs

in Madrid" stressed Vadim Perfilyev, "are the logical continuation of the Soviet-Spanish dialogue, which is becoming a notable factor of European political life."

On Ryzhkov in Sweden, Norway

*LD071311 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT
7 Jan 87*

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—Details of Nikolay Ryzhkov's forthcoming official visits to Sweden and Norway were revealed at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that the trip to Sweden would be held from January 11 to 14, to Norway, from January 14 to 16.

"In accordance with the programme, the head of the Soviet Government is to meet and have substantive conversations with the prime ministers of Sweden and Norway, which will continue the frank and constructive dialogue started in 1986," said the Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"The programme provides for meetings and conversations with prominent political figures and businessmen and familiarization with various aspects of life in Sweden and Norway, trips to industrial enterprises and the cities of Goteborg and Bergen."

The ministry spokesman said that "the legal-contractual basis of relations between the USSR and Sweden, between the USSR and Norway will be further developed as the sides will sign a number of important agreements on various aspects of bilateral cooperation."

Discusses Jakes Visit

*LD071315 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT
7 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, will begin a working visit to this country in the next few days at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said here today.

Perfilyev, who is a deputy chief of the Ministry's Information Directorate, said "relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia are based on the principles of absolute and complete equality, the responsibility of the ruling party in each country for the state of affairs in the nation, respect for the friends' achievements and experience, and concern for the common cause of socialism".

"The Soviet-Czechoslovak relationship," he told a briefing at the Ministry's Press Center, "are characterized by wide-ranging fraternal cooperation in all political, economic and cultural fields. Our interaction is a mighty

factor helping the two countries cope more quickly and efficiently with the pressing problems of building socialism, a fact reflected in thousands of specific undertakings and accomplishments."

Perfilyev expressed confidence that the visit of Jakes would help further strengthen fraternal relations between the two countries all-roundly.

Speaks of Fischer Visit

*LD071532 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1355 GMT 7 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—"GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer will pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union 12-14 January." This was stated at a briefing today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration.

He emphasized that the visit of the distinguished guest from the fraternal GDR provides both sides with a good opportunity to exchange views and assessments on a whole complex of mutual ties and key international problems.

"Relations between the USSR and the GDR," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman added, "are rich in tradition and are distinguished by their multifaceted nature and their high dynamism. They have deep international roots and a reliable foundation: the firm alliance of Marxist-Leninist parties and common goals and ideals. A determining factor for the present stage is the intensive work by both sides to raise to a new qualitative level the whole complex of cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, as defined in the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker."

"It may be assumed that during the discussion of international problems, attention will be paid mainly to the prospects for disarmament, development of the all-European process, and a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Obviously there will be consideration of questions concerning the development of relations with individual West European countries, the problems of regional conflicts, and other subjects," V. Perfilyev said.

Views UN Resolution 607

*LD071506 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT
7 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—"Resolution 607 of the Security Council reflects the international community's growing concern over the escalation of the Israeli campaign of mass repressions against the Arab population," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said here today.

Addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists, he recalled that the U.N. Security Council demanded two weeks ago that Israel comply with generally recognized standards of international law and order and end violation of the Palestinians' human rights.

"Events of the past days showed that Israel's ruling circles did not heed these demands. Tel Aviv has thus totally isolated itself in the world arena.

Even inside Israel, the government's policy is meeting with growing misunderstanding [as received] on the part of some political and public circles.

Against the backdrop of universal condemnation, remarks made by the Israeli representative at the Security Council when he levelled general accusations against the PLO and a produced customary set of justifications for Israeli policies on the occupied lands were self-exposing," observed the Soviet spokesman.

"Resolution 607 clearly indicates that the 1949 Geneva Convention is applicable both to Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

A consensus has formed at the Security Council for the first time in many years, reflecting the opinion of the entire international community with regard to the Israeli-occupied territories and unlawful practices towards the Palestinians and Arabs.

This emphasizes the need for invigorating collective efforts on defusing the Arab-Israeli conflict and convening as soon as possible an international conference on the Middle East," said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

On U.S. Test Site Inspection

*LD071603 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT
7 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 7 (TASS)—A group of American experts led by Robert Barker, assistant to the secretary of defense for atomic energy, arrive in Moscow on January 8, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

"The Americans will visit the Semipalatinsk test site on January 10-15," said Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"In turn, Soviet experts will visit the American Nevada test site on January 24-30. The trips show that new times are beginning in Soviet-American relations when doors of even the most classified facilities, such as test sites, are starting to open."

"These reciprocal fact-finding trips," Perflyev pointed out, "Are to be conducted by the sides within the framework of the agreement reached in Geneva in November last year at the full-scale Soviet-American talks on issues of ending nuclear tests.

The aim of the trips to the test sites is to agree on a Soviet-American joint verification experiment with a view to working out as soon as possible effective verification measures for the threshold test ban treaty of 1974 and the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty of 1976 and for possible future agreements on the further limitation of nuclear tests."

Alekseyev on Shevardnadze Visit to Afghanistan
LD071301 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—"Eduard Shevardnadze's working visit to Afghanistan and discussion of issues related to the Afghan settlement attest to the seriousness and sincerity of the Soviet leadership's intentions with regard to the earliest fulfilment of corresponding decisions," a deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Near East Department has pointed out.

Yuriy Alekseyev, addressing a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre here today, said that the Afghan leadership and President Najibullah had the same frame of mind.

"The policy of national reconciliation," said the Foreign Ministry spokesman, "proclaimed a year ago, speaks for itself. Very much has been done over the past year in what concerns national reconciliation."

He singled out far-going proposals advanced by the Afghan leadership to the effect that the Soviet troops might be withdrawn within 12 months. "The point at issue is months, not years."

"The most important thing now is to conclude the Geneva process. A pattern of settlement has nearly been agreed upon. It gives weighty international guarantees of non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

The issue of deadline remains, but there are here very constructive proposals from the Afghan side."

"There are all conditions for concluding the entire process at the forthcoming round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in the near future," Alekseyev said.

Settlement 'All But Agreed'

PM111413 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4

[From A. Kuvshinnikov, correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center: "A Realistic Path Toward a Settlement"]

[Text] President Najibullah and the Afghan Government are seeking a broad intra-Afghan dialogue. However, the implementation of the national reconciliation policy

inside the country must also be accompanied by a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. In this context the successful conclusion of the Geneva process is now the main task.

Addressing journalists, Yu. Alekseyev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Middle East Department, emphasized that a scheme for a settlement, which makes provision for important international guarantees of noninterference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, has been all but agreed. The question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet forces remains to be agreed, but even here it is a matter of months rather than years; that is to say, a new mode of thinking has been introduced.

Following his statement, as was to be expected, Yu. Alekseyev was subjected to a barrage of questions.

[XINHUA] In his interview to the BAKHTAR agency, E.A. Shevardnadze has said that the withdrawal of Soviet forces will begin as soon as a U.S. pledge to end aid to the armed groupings has taken effect. On the same day, M. Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state, declared that the United States will continue to support the insurgents until Soviet troops are withdrawn. Do you think a compromise is possible?

[Alekseyev] As soon as the Geneva agreement enters into force, that is, 60 days after it has been signed, Alekseyev replied, the withdrawal of forces will begin, and from that date onward there must be no interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

[Kuwait AL-WATAN] What future is in store for the 30 mujahidin bases located in Iran and the 120 bases in Pakistan?

[Alekseyev] After the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, the bases which pursue interference in internal affairs will have to be dismantled. The infiltration of terrorists and armed detachments from the territory of other countries will have to stop.

[CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR] Will the PDPA retain its central role in the political life of Afghanistan after the Soviet forces' withdrawal?

[Alekseyev] The PDPA is one of the influential political forces in the country, and there is no reason to assume that it will give up that role. However, as Afghan leaders have stated more than once, when functioning in new conditions, in the conditions of a multiparty system, it will not insist on retaining a monopoly of power but will be ready to share power. However, this does not mean that the PDPA is ready to give up its participation in the country's political life.

[REUTER] In what provinces in Afghanistan are there no Soviet troops?

[Alekseyev] There are no Soviet troops in 12 of the 29 provinces in central, west, southwest, and northwest Afghanistan.

[THE LOS ANGELES TIMES] What mechanism is envisaged for verifying the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan?

[Alekseyev] The Geneva accords make provision for an international verification mechanism in respect to not only the withdrawal of Soviet troops but also the observance of other accords, including the discontinuation of foreign interference in internal affairs.

Participation in 1988 Olympics Affirmed

LD111222 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] The Soviet Union will participate in the 1988 Summer Olympics. A decision to that effect was taken today at a fullscale meeting of the National Olympic Committee here in Moscow.

It was pointed out that the National Olympic Committee of the Soviet Union supports the efforts of the International Olympic Committee aimed at reaching an agreement on the games being held together by South Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. That would be in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Olympic Charter and in the interests of peace and friendship. It would also help the reunification of the Korean people and the stabilization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The make up of the Soviet team that will be going to the Winter Games in Calgary, Canada, this year has also been approved.

Gramov Makes Announcement

LD111725 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 11 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast sports]

[Text] [Announcer] Good evening, comrades! Today, at a plenum of the National Olympic Committee held in Moscow, the question of Soviet participation in the 24th Olympiad was examined.

Well-known athletes and veterans of the Olympic movement, motivated, of course, by Olympic ideals and the interests of strengthening the unity of the international Olympic movement, voiced support for the decision to accept the invitation of the International Olympic Committee. This decision was announced by Marat Vladimirovich Gramov, chairman of the USSR National Olympic Committee:

[Gramov] [video shows Gramov making announcement] The USSR National Olympic Committee decrees that the invitation of the International Olympic Committee be accepted, and that a Soviet athletic delegation be sent in September 1988 to take part in the 24th Olympiad.

[Announcer] Although it unanimously adopted this decision, the plenum nevertheless stressed that the USSR National Olympic Committee supported and supports the proposal of the DPRK National Olympic committee to hold the Olympic Games in both North and South Korea, which would undoubtedly be most in keeping with the spirit of the Olympic Charter and the Olympic ideals.

Drobkov Looks at Disarmament, Gulf War

PM111241 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[Vladislav Drobkov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] And so, the first complete week of 1988 is over. Following several days of festivities which, alas, were not celebrated everywhere in an atmosphere of prosperity and peace, which the earth's inhabitants so generously wished each other on the occasion of the New Year, we are back to the daily routine with its concerns and alarms, its joys and sorrows.

Demolishing Missiles and Stereotypes [subhead]

"Some skeptics in the West find it very difficult to part with the old stereotyped views of the enemy, while others have too little self-confidence and too little imagination to perceive a new policy aimed at the future. We have to make a decision: either to ensure mankind's survival through cooperation, or to perish in a struggle against each other. Bearing this prospect in mind, I advocate a serious attitude to Gorbachev and his policy of reform, and the application of new thinking, including in our own country, to pave the way for a policy of cooperation in the security sphere, too." These words were spoken by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the course of an interview with WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE magazine a few days ago.

Nobody could argue with such an assessment. It is evident that recent events and, without any doubt, primarily the results of the Washington summit meeting, proved not only to H.-D. Genscher but also to many skeptics the sincere, constructive nature of Soviet policy. The stereotype of the "Soviet threat," built up over decades, is clearly paling in these conditions. Growing numbers of people around the world advocate the pursuit of a policy that is really aimed at the future, rather than a course of confrontation in relations with the USSR.

It can be confidently said that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles remains the core element of all world politics today. Statesmen and public figures, representatives of the broadest strata of the population, and mass media in different countries came out in support of the treaty this week. I will cite just one such statement. It was made by U.S. Vice President George Bush, speaking at the National Press Club on Tuesday. Having expressed "absolute confidence" that the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will be ratified by the Senate, he declared: "What is significant is not just that we are eliminating a small percentage of our nuclear arsenal but that we are reversing the patterns of the past, away from more and more weapons and toward greater stability and safety." Let us recall that George Bush is seen as the Republican frontrunner for his party's nomination in this year's presidential election.

At the same time, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles still has numerous adversaries both in the United States and in some other NATO countries. And they are not idly standing by. As a matter of fact, their activity was noticeably stepped up in the very first few days of the new year. It can even be said that, following the initial shock in December, they are beginning to recover and are applying renewed energy in the struggle to maintain and, wherever possible, to build up nuclear and other arsenals. On that very same Tuesday, 5 January, when the vice president spoke at the National Press Club, THE NEW YORK TIMES published an article by Eugene Rostow, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Committee on the Present Danger. It is clearly addressed to those forces which, to use Rostow's actual words, "see the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty as a new Munich: the beginning of an American retreat into isolationism under the implicit threat of Moscow's growing superiority." The head of the Committee on the Present Danger tries to prove that the Soviet-U.S. treaty "is a trap for the West" and that its coming into force could have "a catastrophic impact... on world peace." Rostow wants the document's ratification by the U.S. Senate made subject to delays and additional reservations. "Following the treaty's ratification," he writes, "Moscow would have no incentive for a deal on strategic arms and defensive systems." A curious statement! Is he trying to say that the accord that has already been reached should not be implemented before a new and even more far-reaching accord is concluded? But who is to guarantee that, in the event of new agreements being reached, Rostow and his fellow-thinkers will not think of something else which will, according to their logic, obstruct the ratification of the first, the second, and any subsequent agreements? How is progress to be achieved in general without even a first step being taken? It seems to me that Rostow and others like him would like to drive the cause of disarmament into a blind alley and take away its dynamism by entwining it in the noose of provisos, conditions, and reservations.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the adversaries of the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are trying by all means to discredit the Soviet-U.S. accord, cast aspersions on it, and sow doubts about the USSR's sincerity. Congressman Jack Kemp, who is also running for the presidential nomination, this week sent an angry message to the secretary of state, accusing the USSR of "forging" the photograph of the SS-20 missile handed over to the Americans. "U.S. intelligence agencies are now simply terrified," Kemp declared. I would like to reassure the gentleman from Congress and, at the same time, the U.S. intelligence agencies. The photograph handed over to the Americans is genuine. This was, as a matter of fact, authoritatively declared by the U.S. Department of State this week. The missiles we intend to destroy are also genuine, not made of papier-mache. We would only like to see the U.S. Congress confirming by deed, sooner rather than later, the declared desire for disarmament and readiness to demolish not only missiles but also stereotypes of thinking, which hinder the development of really stable, business-like relations between our countries—relations based on trust and consideration of each other's interests.

Europeans' Concerns [subhead]

The entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles certainly will have a serious impact on world peace, but it will be not "catastrophic," as Eugene Rostow claims, but the most positive kind of impact. It can even be asserted that this treaty is already having a favorable effect on the development of the international situation. New evidence of this is provided by the letter published this week from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Noting the specific contribution made by the two German states to the achievement of Soviet-U.S. accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the GDR leader called again for creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. By way of a specific step toward extending nuclear disarmament in Europe to other spheres, Erich Honecker proposed reducing tactical nuclear weapons there as part of a package including armed forces and conventional arms. The GDR's latest initiative has attracted keen interest on our continent and across the ocean. It has provoked lively discussion not only in the heart of Europe but also in other regions.

This is not surprising, because the idea of ridding the soil of Europe, or even its individual regions, of mass destruction weapons has been discussed for a long time now by politicians and military figures in both West and East. In particular, the initiative for creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe generated a broad response in the past. Now it is once more at the center of attention among public and political forces in Europe's north. What is happening is that, on the eve of the forthcoming visits to Sweden and Norway by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Nordic countries

press, radio, and television have been actively discussing prospects for developing our bilateral relations and the possible evolution of the military-political situation throughout the region.

The idea of creating a nuclear-free zone is supported by many politicians and public figures in northern Europe. Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland declared this week that the creation of such a zone could make an important contribution to easing tension in East-West relations. "The idea of eliminating nuclear arms from the Nordic region, including the Arctic regions of the Soviet Union, was first launched in the fifties," a REUTER correspondent recalled in a dispatch sent a few days ago from Oslo. "It enjoys broad support in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland.... This idea was given a new boost after Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev proposed, in his speech in October last year, to limit naval and air force activity in the Nordic region. But the United States repeatedly rejected the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the north."

Indeed, the idea of withdrawing all nuclear arms from the northern territories and seas has never enjoyed Washington's support. The reason for this is perfectly clear. For a long time now, the United States has stubbornly looked on that region as a possible bridgehead for waging military actions against the Soviet Union. There are U.S. nuclear weapons in the seas adjoining the European north. The press has repeatedly pointed out plans to use Scandinavian airspace for NATO's strategic interests. The question is: Do the peoples of the Nordic countries need this? Do they wish to remain U.S. nuclear hostages while prospects of a substantial reduction of nuclear missile arsenals are emerging in Europe?

The forthcoming Soviet-Swedish and Soviet-Norwegian talks, scheduled for next week, will no doubt offer a good opportunity for engage in a broad exchange of opinions on all these topical problems. It is well-known that the USSR consistently advocates the reduction of both nuclear and conventional arms in the north European region and the strengthening of security and development of mutually advantageous cooperation there. Our country fully supports the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone there. Back in 1983 the Soviet Union, in a display of goodwill, declared its readiness not only to respect the status of such a zone if it were to be declared, but also to examine the question of corresponding measures in its own territory adjacent to northern Europe. We also supported the initiative to give nuclear-free status to the waters of the Baltic. M.S. Gorbachev's well-known speech in Murmansk outlined a large-scale, comprehensive program for decisively improving the situation in northern Europe, reducing the level of military confrontation there, and establishing relations of genuine trust, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. This program, which generated a lively response among the northern European public, can serve as a sound guideline in the quest for ways to strengthen peace and security in that region of the planet.

Smoke Over the Gulf [subhead]

Television pictures and still photographs seen on television screens and newspaper pages all over the world this week offered tangible proof of the instability and fragility of the world in which we are living. Thick clouds of black smoke rose again over the Persian Gulf. They were produced by burning tankers flying the flags of different countries. Attacks on tankers continue despite the presence of dozens of warships in the Gulf itself and in the approaches to it—primarily a U.S. armada of more than 30 combat units.

The situation in the Persian Gulf has again become one of the main topics covered by mass media in different countries in the last few days. The reason for this was provided not so much by the fighting on the Iran-Iraq front or the "tanker war" in the Gulf as by the visit of Frank Carlucci, leader of the U.S. military department, to the region. The Pentagon chief visited Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Oman and had meetings with the commands of U.S. armed forces deployed in the region. Even on the eve of Carlucci's visit, the U.S. press started publishing reports that the Pentagon was planning to reduce the numerical strength of its armada in the Gulf. It was reported in particular that it is planned to recall several ships from the Gulf, among them the helicopter carrier Okinawa and the battleship Iowa. But these reports were immediately denied by Pentagon, State Department, and White House spokesmen. White House Spokesman M. Fitzwater stated 6 January: "We have no intention of reducing our responsibility or making changes to our position in the Persian Gulf." Similar statements were also made by F. Carlucci on several occasions during his trip.

Even so, it seems that people in Washington are now seriously thinking of some reduction of their naval presence in the dangerous waters of the Gulf. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the administration cannot fail to perceive that the U.S. naval buildup failed to ensure that freedom of navigation which it was supposed to defend. This inevitably leads to a loss of U.S. international prestige. Second, people in the United States itself are showing growing dissatisfaction with the actions of an administration which has gotten involved in a conflict without apparently clearly defining its goals and tasks in it. Finally, the presence of dozens of U.S. ships in the Gulf is costing the United States an extra \$20-30 million a month.

The possibility of a more devious political game being concealed behind Carlucci's visit should not be overlooked. Some observers note that the persistent talk about a possible reduction in the U.S. naval presence in the Gulf could be deliberately encouraged by the administration in order to "send a signal" to the littoral states, primarily Iran: a signal of the U.S. intention to change its tactics in the region somewhat and embark on a certain rapprochement with some of the parties involved in the conflict raging there.

The near future will show what is really behind the maneuvers by U.S. diplomacy and the Pentagon in the Persian Gulf. For the time being, it is concealed behind the thick clouds of black smoke rising over the burning tankers.

International Treaty Ratification Process Viewed
LD081909 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT
8 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty is now in the government which will refer it to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR.

What will be its further way to ratification? A TASS correspondent put this question to Yuriy Korolev, head of a department at the Secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"According to the procedure sealed in Constitution of the USSR, only the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union may decide whether to ratify an international treaty concluded on behalf of the USSR or not", he said. "As far as the ratification procedure common to all international treaties is concerned, it consists of several stages".

"The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, upon receiving an important treaty, directs the foreign affairs commissions of the two houses of the Soviet parliament—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—tentatively to consider it".

"The commissions at their joint meeting hear a report by a government spokesman, ordinarily the minister of foreign affairs, and opinions of experts, discuss the document, work out their attitude to it, and refer their recommendation and conclusion to the Presidium".

"The head of government or his deputy makes a report at the Presidium's meeting at which the ratification question is raised. Then the conclusion of the foreign affairs commissions is heard and the treaty is discussed. If the Presidium members have no observations concerning the treaty or objections to it, a decision is taken. Usually, the president of the Presidium immediately signs a decree on ratification".

"This is how it happens if a treaty raises no doubts. One should bear in mind, however, that a treaty between two countries is a mutual and mutually binding document. Therefore such treaties are ratified on the basis of full reciprocity".

"As far as the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is concerned, it can be expected that it will be ratified in the Soviet Union approximately at the same time as this will be done in the United States. It must be pointed out that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has already in a general form expressed approval of the treaty".

"We want the treaty to be ratified as soon as possible, for the treaty signed in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by President Ronald Reagan of the United States meets the interests of all people on earth and the interests of peace", Yuriy Korolev said.

United States & Canada

Barker Trip Helps Coordinate Verification

LD081629 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] This coming Sunday, a group of American experts led by Assistant Defense Secretary Robert Barker arrives on the Soviet nuclear testing site near the city of Semipalatinsk. And more from our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin. This is what he writes:

Just as the visit by Soviet experts to the American nuclear testing site in Nevada, this trip should help coordinate the stands of the two countries on measures of verifying any future agreements to limit nuclear tests. In a perspective, such agreements must lead to a total stop of such tests as part of an effective disarmament process. It was noted in a joint Soviet-American statement after the Washington summit last December that this process has as a top priority goal of reducing nuclear armaments and eliminating them eventually. The exchange with groups of Soviet and American experts is another indication that it is quite wrong to claim, the way it is still being done in the United States, that attainment of accords with the USSR on disarmament is impossible because allegedly the USSR is a closed society and because it is opposed to verification under such agreements.

The Soviet stand on the problem is clear. This country is interested in verification as much as the United States and it is ready, if accords are reached, to use both national and international verification, including on-site inspection. That applies to various directions in the disarmament process. Let us recall that for a long time equipment installed by American experts for control of nuclear explosions operated on the Soviet testing site in the area of Semipalatinsk. Let us also recall the trip by a group of experts from various countries to the Soviet Union to study the Soviet technology for destroying chemical weapons. The Soviet Union has also accepted most effective verification under the agreement to scrap intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Unfortunately, one has to speak also of the fact that the United States is not ready yet, apparently, to go as far on verification matters. According to a report by the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the United States does not intend to permit Soviet experts going to Nevada nuclear testing site to visit those parts of it where tests are held under the "Star Wars" program. Thus, elementary logic shows that if the ultimate aim is to stop nuclear tests the verification structure should cover all types of such tests, without exception for any programs.

Deployment of Stealth Bombers Postponed

LD081044 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci has ordered the postponement for a year of the deployment of the top secret Stealth bomber, which is being developed by the

Northrop Corporation. Technical problems are given as the reason for this decision. Under the Pentagon's plans, these bombers, employing Stealth technology which makes them practically invisible on radar screens, are due to be ready for deployment at the start of the nineties.

Hoyer, Weinrod Interviewed on Arms Issues

PM111515 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 9 Jan 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Congressman Steny Hoyer and Heritage Foundation's Bruce Weinrod by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Observer Sergey Volovets: "Extending the Sphere of Consensus: The Soviet Plan for Nuclear Disarmament by the Year 2000: How an American Politician and Political Scientist See It"—date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Congressman Steny Hoyer, deputy leader of the Democratic majority, represents the State of Maryland and that relatively moderate foreign policy line which enjoys two-party support in the U.S. Congress. Bruce Weinrod is a Republican and director of the foreign policy department of the Heritage Foundation—the well-known ultraconservative organization whose right-wing radical views have a marked influence on the present Washington administration. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Observer Sergey Volovets talked with them.

[Volovets] If the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington a month ago takes place successfully, in 3 years' time our countries will not have weapons of that class. A 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms is also within reach now. A treaty on this could be drawn up for President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Moscow. It is 2 years since M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement, in which the Soviet Union proposed a phased plan for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. If we look at these proposals today, we see that the groundwork already done is generally favorable to the fulfillment of the schedule proposed. Do you consider a nuclear-free world by the turn of the millenium attainable and desirable?

[Hoyer] A few months ago, I was in the Soviet Union with a delegation of the U.S. Congress headed by Jim Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives. At that time, not one of us, either Democrat or Republican, was confident that the first, but exceptionally important step in nuclear arms reduction would be taken before the end of the year. It is hard for me to say with certainty whether the 12-year period is sufficient to reach a world where there are no nuclear weapons at all, but it is clear that we must move steadily in that direction.

The dramatic summit meeting in Washington gave us not only a treaty eliminating two classes of missiles, but also a taste, a sense of relations between our countries of an entirely different order. In the recently published

book "Restructuring and the New Thinking," which has become required reading for any active politician in the United States, Mr Gorbachev speaks of the need for restructuring also in relations between the USSR and the United States, as they have developed over 70 years. American legislators of both parties, who seldom agree on anything, are unanimous in the desire to improve them.

Here the disarmament process is both an end and a means. I remember that R. Reagan, in a different way from the general secretary and in a different context, acknowledged the possibility of ensuring the security of the United States and our allies without nuclear weapons. That is a starting point. Let us make a start, and see what happens by the year 2000.

[Weinrod] I am one of those in the United States who think that nuclear weapons have played their part in maintaining peace between opposing military-political groupings. The Heritage Foundation does not impose a single system of views on its supporters, on defense or other subjects. But like many of our supporters, I welcome the reduction of nuclear arms to a certain level and given certain conditions.

[Volovets] What conditions precisely?

[Weinrod] First of all, the Soviet Union must give guarantees of the fulfillment of the treaty that has been signed and the treaty that is in preparation, since it has violated agreements signed previously. That is, verification problems remain, and then you must reduce your conventional arms and armed forces, in which you have a great superiority over the West. But even if this is done, I think the American philosophy of security requires ultimately keeping 250-300 nuclear weapons as the ultimate argument in the deterrence machinery. I am against complete nuclear disarmament, since it would undermine stability by giving your country unilateral advantages.

[Hoyer] Irrespective of the different views on the merits of a nuclear-free approach to ensuring peace and international security, the majority in the U.S. Congress, as far as I am aware, are also concerned about verification problems and the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional arms.

[Volovets] First, violations. You, Bruce Weinrod, speak of them as a fact, although nobody has ever managed to prove it, and your compatriot Tom Gervasi, in the book published recently in the United States, "The Myth of Soviet Military Superiority," explains in detail how these falsifications came about. These are well-known cowboy tactics: Always shoot first, and you will live longer. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington stipulates procedures for the strictest on-site verification. This is part of the valuable experience that has been accumulated for use in further steps to eliminate nuclear

weapons. But even national means of verification exclude the possibility of concealing anything comparable in size to missile complexes or aircraft. Here, again, are your own data. K. Tsipis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies writes that the satellites you call KH-8's take photographs on which objects about 2 cm in size can be distinguished, and KH-11's, from a higher orbit, objects of a few centimeters. And the computer processing of photographs makes it possible to see objects of that size more clearly from a satellite than from a distance of a few meters on earth. Even without a minimum of confidence, what are you so afraid of?

[Weinrod] You have a huge territory, and you could hide something somewhere. But, most important, your conventional armed forces threaten America and its allies. At the beginning of the conversation, you said that the Heritage Foundation reflects the views of extreme right groups in the United States. I do not agree with that definition. We hold conservative views, and we do not all agree with the administration's present policy on everything. We believe that the world is a dangerous place, and the government's first duty is to ensure national security. It is our duty to defend Western institutions and values. And, finally, by force of historical circumstances America has become the leader of the West, we cannot follow anyone, we have to lead, responding to any challenge from you in any military sphere.

[Volovets] That has a pathetic ring to it, but once again, it is possible to cite documents from scientific institutions which are oriented toward the West, such as SIPRI or the London Institute of Strategic Studies, showing that the USSR's superiority in conventional arms is just another myth about the Soviet threat. Obviously, asymmetry exists in the development of different countries' armed forces. But that is no reason to keep nuclear weapons, it is a reason to cut conventional arms, taking such asymmetries into account and preserving the overall strategic balance. M.S. Gorbachev spoke of this at the Washington press conference, proposing that we set about it without delay.

The 15 January 1986 Statement contains the proposal to stop all nuclear tests, as a real step toward nuclear disarmament. At that time, the USSR was observing a long moratorium, which was extended repeatedly. What do you think about the possibility of stopping explosions?

[Hoyer] Are you conducting tests now?

[Volovets] Yes.

[Hoyer] So are we. I can say that there is strong support in Congress for the idea of a test ban. This support was expressed in the legislators' vote for the maximum possible limitations on the yield of explosions in Nevada until such time as an agreement on a total ban is drawn

up. We all expect the talks under way in Geneva on this question to bring results soon. A test ban will then be one of a number of measures and accords improving our relations.

[Weinrod] I pin hopes for the reduction of nuclear weapons and, so to speak, their partial obsolescence not on an end to tests, but on the Strategic Defense Initiative. If we choose the wrong weapons or the wrong proportions for reductions, we will undermine stability and increase the danger. SDI is a purely defense concept. The Soviet Union, we know, is also concerned about this. You have spent 150 billion on your SDI in recent years. In an interview for NBC television, Mr Gorbachev told Tom Brokaw literally this: "Certainly, we are engaged in research, fundamental research, which also touches on those aspects covered by SDI research in America. But we will not create an SDI, we will not deploy an SDI, and we call on America to do the same."

[Hoyer] I am hardly qualified to express an opinion on all the finer points of a technically complex program like SDI. I will only say that the American public as a whole is, if anything, even more well-disposed to SDI at present than the legislators on the Capitol. As you know, Congress has cut current appropriations for SDI by nearly 2 billion dollars....

[Volovets] Leaving, nonetheless, nearly 4 billion for this expenditure.

[Hoyer] ...And all the same, we firmly intend to restrict SDI to research, not permitting the conduct of experiments or deployment of its elements in space.

[Volovets] While a treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms is being drawn up in Geneva, Soviet and American scientists are discussing ways of maintaining stability with possible 75 and 90% reductions in the number of nuclear warheads. It is well-known that many ideas originating in scientific discussion later influence government decisions. This has happened with certain ideas concerning medium-range missiles, put forward at the Moscow forum last February. How attentive is America to the political authority of the scientists?

[Hoyer] Of course, we listen to their opinions, although you realize that in the United States they can be anywhere in the spectrum between the two extremes. I value highly the exchange of ideas at all levels, in all professional and social groups. I want once again to cite Mr Gorbachev's book, where he speaks of the inadequate contacts and knowledge between our peoples. We are here in Moscow to make good this shortcoming, and we are open to any new ideas.

[Weinrod] That is another area of total consensus between a Democrat and a Republican.

PRAVDA Reports Senator Bradley's Moscow Talks
PM111551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] On 7 January U.S. Senator W. Bradley had a conversation at the USSR Parliamentary Group.

During the conversation it was noted that the Soviet-American summit in Washington and the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was one of last year's most important events. The Soviet side expressed confidence that the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies will come out in favor of ratification of the Soviet-American treaty.

Ratification of this important document, W. Bradley said, will make it possible to achieve a whole range of new accords in the future which will help lessen the danger of nuclear war.

During the conversation there was also mention of the importance of continuing the dialogue between the two countries' parliamentarians through satellite communications. It was stressed that television linkups, which are watched by millions of viewers in both countries, provide a good opportunity for free exchange of opinions, and this ultimately contributes to the improvement of mutual understanding between the two countries' peoples and the development of Soviet-American relations.

On the same day, W. Bradley had conversations at the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, and the editorial offices of the journal NOVYY MIR.

History of Bilateral Relations Discussed
LD071628 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] A meeting with representatives of Soviet and foreign mass media took place at the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY today. Its subject was From the History of Soviet-U.S. Relations: Experience of a Positive Reading of the Past.

It was noted at the meeting that the main lesson that could be drawn from an objective and unbiased study of the history of USSR-U.S. relations is the need for a change in thinking.

In the opinion of Doctor of History Falin, chairman of the NOVOSTI board, a good deal of material in the history of relations between the two powers demands a fresh approach, free from patterns and stereotypes. Of special importance is an analysis of those periods when our countries' interests not only did not clash but were often mutually supplementary or coincided, for example during World War II. In reply to a journalist's question:

Is the present Soviet concept of U.S.-USSR relations too critical regarding U.S. policy and too tolerant of negligence on the Soviet side, Doctor of History Ivanyan, head of a department in the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stressed that in the past the Soviet Union's policy at times was not so much of an enterprising [initsiativnyy] as of a reciprocal [otvetnyy] nature. We did not always show a desire for compromise. And the fact that of late we have been engaged in searching for mutually acceptable solutions is undoubtedly a great achievement of Soviet foreign policy.

Further Report

LD080007 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] [Presenter] Today at the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, a meeting took place between journalists and Ivanyan D.Sc, historian and an expert on U.S. studies, and the chairman of the NOVOSTI board, Falin. The meeting was devoted to Soviet-U.S. relations with the main accent on the experience of positive reading of the past. Our commentator Igor Charikov was present at that meeting. He is here in the studio now. I have asked him to tell us in more detail what was at issue there. First, Igor Pavlovich, I think the formulation of the question was somewhat unusual, wasn't it?

[Charikov] I absolutely agree with you. It was precisely the experience of reading the past positively in the relations between two great powers that Valentin Mikhailovich Falin drew attention during his opening speech. He pointed, and what is more quite justly, to the fact that Soviet-U.S. relations [changes thought] and up till 1917 the relations between Russia and the United States are usually presented by journalists and even by some scholars in a critical light, with the exception probably of the period of the World War II. And against their will, opinions are formed in people who are not experts that our two countries were, are and almost inevitably should remain irreconcilable rivals in the future, if not opponents.

[Presenter] You know, Igor Pavlovich, I must admit that that opinion is indeed current.

[Charikov] There you are, you see. But to what extent is this conclusion right and justified by historical facts? At the moment, I shall not touch on the prerevolutionary period, although it embraces numerous examples of cooperation between Russia and the United States. Yes, indeed, the ruling United States regarded the October Revolution with enmity, rejected Lenin's decree on peace, and tried to hinder the conclusion of the Brest peace treaty and took part in the intervention. But the policy of the United States over the next 10 years underwent a certain evolution. It was precisely on the initiative of the United States that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was concluded in 1928, which is known to have rejected war as an instrument of national policy. For all

its shortcomings, the pact became an important event in international relations. And it was this interest on the part of the U.S. Administration by the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties in restraining the arms race and in reducing military arsenals that, it seems to me, deserves fixed attention. In this context, a special part is played by the 1933 establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries. Moreover, in the messages that the leaders of that time exchanged, it was pointed out that that act "is being carried out"—I want to quote it—"for the sake of our own mutual advantage and for the sake of peace throughout the world." It should certainly be added that the decrease in the influence of the military factor on the development of the situation in the world did not occur owing to the opposition on the part of England, Germany and Japan. In subsequent years, the administration of President Roosevelt did quite a lot, and he personally rendered great service in this, to create a spirit of being allies in the struggle against German fascism. Roosevelt was convinced that it was a must, in the interests of the United States, to continue cooperation in the postwar period. He considered that one of the most vital elements in politics must be a rejection of the arms race and a drastic reduction in the military potentials of all states. It was only a change of administration, the coming to power in the United States of reactionary circles who reckoned on having a monopoly in nuclear weapons and economic superiority, that did not allow Roosevelt's plans to be carried out. Much that is positive can be traced in Soviet-U.S. relations. There is much that can be made use of even now in the new conditions obtaining, the nuclear missile age. For that, it is necessary to reject the stereotypes of past thinking and lean on the reality of the present day.

[Presenter] Thank you, Igor, for an interesting report.

Academician Primakov on Results of Summit
LD072206 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] A general meeting of the Learned Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences took place in Moscow on the problems of peace and disarmament. It was devoted to the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit. Scientists stressed the historic importance of signing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Opening the meeting, Academician Primakov, director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that the treaty is a most important milestone in creating a world free of nuclear arms and violence. This is a victory of reason and political responsibility. This shows that the new political thinking is making its way into the practice of today's international life.

[Begin Primakov recording] Not only was an agreement, extremely important in itself, signed in Washington, but here in Washington a new stage of progress materialized. An accord on a whole number of most important issues

related to a 50% reduction of strategic offensive systems linked to the preservation of the ABM Treaty was reached here. There are very important points, including such a point, entered in the joint treaty, as the agreement by the U.S. side to regard the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972, or, in other words, to give up a broad interpretation of the treaty.

The second thing to which I would like to draw your attention is the following: Our idea took the upper hand here—not confrontation but an advance along all lines to the normalization of the international situation while giving priority, naturally, to the task of reducing armaments. We all remember the speculations around human rights and how, using those speculations, the opposite side often tried to remove the acuteness of the issue and blunt the need to solve the issue of reducing armaments. There was nothing of the kind in Washington. Speculations of that sort occurred in the press, but in principle they receded into the background.

We all remember how, before Geneva, representatives of the U.S. Administration put forward a peculiar logical scheme. President Reagan did this more than once in his speeches. That scheme stipulated that first one has to bring about the elimination of regional conflicts, accumulate confidence, and only after this has been achieved to begin reducing armaments. Not a shred remains of this scheme. And I think that this is one of the greatest achievements of Soviet policy and diplomacy that precisely here the viewpoint won, to the effect that it is possible to consider all issues, undoubtedly, but not to the detriment of arms reduction. That is how it was in Washington.

Speaking about the political consequences of what took place in Washington, there is, in my view, a certain shift of the U.S. political axis from the right to the center. It is very characteristic in this aspect that some time before Mikhail Sergeyevich arrived, President Reagan, defending a compromise position or line in an interview, came out against ultra-conservatives, against those whose support he had sought earlier, as it were. He accused them of not excluding—and hence practically considering possible and even unavoidable—a war with the Soviet Union. A certain differentiation is taking place over there and one should not neglect it. Finally, the fact that relations with the Soviet Union are increasingly becoming one of the dimensions of U.S. internal political life seems to me to be yet another great political result of our party general secretary's stay in Washington and the great work he did there. [end recording]

U.S. 'Propaganda' on Embassy Security
LD2333 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 9 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] You probably remember the hullabaloo that U.S. propaganda kicked up over the issue of the so-called security of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Vladimir Dunayev, our correspondent in Washington, describes what sort of turn this affair is taking in the United States.

[Dunayev] This is the January issue of the U.S. magazine LIFE, which carries a picture—The Year in Photographs—of the past year. This is a sort of photopanorama of the year. There is a photograph here with the following caption. Soviet listening devices have penetrated the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, penetrated it to such an extent that no less than \$92 million will be needed to get rid of them.

These listening devices are shown as evidence of this; they have been extracted and put on show, and there is a man there, so to speak, pointing to them and relating the details. This, if you please, is all from a news conference, all from a news conference shown a few months ago throughout the world, in our country as well—we showed it on the "Vremya program", filming it here. It was held, that is, not in Moscow at all, not in the U.S. Embassy, but in the new Soviet Embassy here in Washington. The bugs in question were in fact ones that the U.S. special services placed in our embassy, not the other way around. The man shown in the photograph is Vyacheslav Zakharovich Borovikov, spokesman of the security service of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who spoke at the news conference. Here he is talking about what the U.S. special services did to our building, there you can see.

They did not have their own photographs, because there never was any news conference in the U.S. Embassy, and all this mythical talk about Soviet listening devices just is not backed up at all. But they obviously had no other way out; they decided to show our news conference! There you have it!

Well, one could say that someone got things mixed up, that happens to everyone. It is a trivial thing. Is it worth talking about specifically, so to speak? Trivial it may be, but venomous. It turns out that here, in this photograph, there are name-plates in front of the seats of the Soviet participants who spoke there. Written in Russian script on the name-plates is the surname Borovikov and the surnames of other Soviet diplomats. But here on the photograph, this is all erased. Those who were engaged in this fraud saw this, saw perfectly well that there were Russian surnames written there, Soviet surnames; they erased them and gave the whole thing out as an exposure of Soviet sabotage.

China

Comparison of Gorbachev LIAOWANG Interview

Moscow International Service in Mandarin at 0300 GMT on 11 January broadcasts a 15-minute "full text" of replies by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to questions from the PRC journal LIAOWANG. The Moscow International Mandarin version has been compared to the Moscow IZVESTIYA Russian version published in the 11 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 23-25, revealing the following variations:

Page 24, column one, paragraph five, sentence two, reads ...the opportunity for achieving a series of advances [qu de yi xi lie jin zhan] across the entire... (changing "a chain-reaction shift" to "achieving a series of advances" and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph six, sentence one, reads ...your opinion, are there in the development... (rewording and dropping "discernible")

Column two, paragraph one, sentence four, reads ...historical experience and professes [xin feng] its own ideology... (changing "propounds" to "professes" and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph three, sentence three, reads ...guided rejects the unwise [bu mingzhi] old formula: If... (changing "easy" to "unwise" and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph four, sentence one, reads ...are the main areas in which you have achieved progress in your restructuring [ni men di gai ge qu de le na xie zhu yao jin zhan]... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph five, sentence one, reads ...today can be called an epoch-making era [hua shi dai shi qi]. We have thrown... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Same paragraph, sentence three to sentence four, reads ...society. People's initiative [ji ji xing] and energy are... (changing "activeness" to "initiative" and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph six, last sentence reads ...lessons from it, to ponder over our reform [dui gai ge jin xing le si kao], to comprehend restructuring... (adding words and supplying the vernacular)

Same sentence reads ...restructuring as an indispensable stage of development in conformity with the law and connected with the [bi ran yao jing li di yi ge he hu gui lu di fa zhan jie duan]... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Page 25, column one, first paragraph, sentence two reads ...many of them have been the products of the initial stage of restructuring, which by nature have been caused by the contradictions during the transitional period of restructuring [qi zhong di xu duo kun nan shi you yu gai ge di chu shi jie duan jiu qi xing zhi er yan shi guo du jie duan di mao dun zao cheng di]... (adding words and supplying the vernacular)

Same paragraph, from sentence three to sentence four, reads ...of losing privileges. All of these exerted a negative influence [zhe yi qie dou qi le bu hao di zuo yong]. There also emerged... (adding sentence and supplying the vernacular)

Same paragraph, sentence three reads ...there also emerged left-leaning sentiments for rash advances [hai biao xian chu le zuo qing he mao jin di qing xu], and the desire... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph three, sentence two reads ...with smashing the erroneous social concept that regards socialism as a form of universal egalitarianism [jiu shi yao po chu na zhong cuo wu di ren wei she hui zhu yi shi mou zhong pu bian ping jun zhu yi di she hui gai nian]. Therefore there is... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Paragraph six, sentence one reads ...reforms of the economic and the social structures [jing ji ti zhi he she hui ti zhi di gai ge] under way in... (rewording and supplying the vernacular)

Moscow TV Notes Gorbachev Interview
OW111213 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1125 GMT 11 Jan 88

[From the "World Today" program presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] Today the newspapers carried Comrade Gorbachev's answers to questions posed by LIAOWANG, a Chinese weekly. I am certain that anyone watching this program is no doubt already familiar with the answers and therefore I will not go into detail.

I wish to draw your attention to the following: for the first time in many years a Chinese press organ has officially published an interview with a Soviet leader and is posing questions pertaining to domestic life in our country. The journal is particularly interested in the progress achieved in perestroyka, in the problems our country is encountering, and in how these problems are to be solved.

Undoubtedly, behind these questions is the enormous interest of the Chinese public in the Soviet Union, and the journal is attempting to satisfy this interest. In this, above all, we see major progress toward improvement in the relations of our country with China. We are neighbors and therefore we feel satisfaction with the increased pace of mutually beneficial cooperation in the areas of economics, culture, science, education, and sports.

The Sino-Soviet border talks are off to a good start. Political dialogue is on the mend. A Soviet-Chinese summit could perhaps be the logical development of this. All this was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his answers.

The search for mutually beneficial solutions in our countries are continuing, and this cannot but gladden us.

Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian To Visit U.S.

*OW1110927 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 9 Jan 88*

[Text] XINHUA News Agency has reported that during a press conference in Washington, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz announced that Wu Xueqian, foreign minister of China, will visit the United States between 3 and 4 March. XINHUA pointed out that Shultz had visited Beijing last spring.

Foreign observers hold that the purpose of Wu Xueqian's visit to the United States is to remove some of the ominous signs that have appeared in the Sino-U.S. relations. One of the latest signs was the U.S. expulsion of two Chinese diplomats accused of activities incompatible with their diplomatic status. The Chinese Foreign Ministry held that this accusation was utterly groundless. Moreover, a few days ago, when President Reagan signed an amendment for a bill on the budget for the 1988 fiscal year, Taiwan was referred to as the Republic of China. Immediately after that a White House spokesman issued a statement saying that that does not mean a reconsideration of the U.S. policy of recognizing only one China. But Radio Beijing in its broadcast indicated that this kind of error in wording in the official document of the U.S. Government violated the provisions and spirit of the three U.S.-China Joint communiques.

PRC Draft Law on Industrial Enterprises Prepared

*LD091436 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT
9 Jan 88*

[Text] Beijing January 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Tomilin reports:

The introduction of amendments to China's first-ever draft law on the industrial enterprise owned by the whole people is nearing completion in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Soon it will be submitted for consideration to a session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The draft law determines the enterprises' relationships with the state, its rights and duties arising from the differentiation in practice between the right of property and the right of management.

Matters concerning the place and role of party organizations at enterprises in accordance with the changes introduced to the party rules by the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) will also find reflections in a new law.

Provisions concerning the forms of distribution will become an important component of the future law. Along with legal ensurance of a consistent realization in practice of the principle of distribution according to one's work, the law on the enterprise "is called upon

clearly to define possibilities for the application of other forms of distribution with due regard for the distinguishing features of the primary stage of socialism in China".

Under the new law the director is to become the enterprise's representative vested with legal powers and rights. The director's appointment to the post may be sanctioned by the government. He may be appointed or invited by the ministry, invited or elected by a general meeting of representatives of industrial and office workers.

It was pointed out here at a meeting of the directors of enterprises that the adoption of the new law "will free the enterprises from the need to follow the impracticable and confused directions of administrative departments".

At the same time one should not forget that it took about nine years to elaborate and discuss a law on the enterprise. A still more complex work to implement it in practice lies ahead, participants in the meeting emphasized.

Toshiba Incident Hurting Chinese Foreign Trade

*OW102354 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1500 GMT 9 Jan 87*

[Shakhov commentary]

[Text] China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade has again made a protest to the Japanese Government concerning the Japanese Toshiba Company's cancellation of trade agreements signed with China's foreign trade organization. In this connection, station commentator Shakhov has the following comments:

Let me simply point out the substance of the issue. About a year ago, the Washington administration revealed a policy against Japan's Toshiba Company, saying that it provided extremely important strategic equipment to the Soviet Union. Actually, the equipment was merely a common machine tool. The United States asserted that the Soviet Union could use this kind of machine tool to manufacture so-called silent propellers for submarines. As a result, the U.S. Administration put great political pressure on the Japanese Government and forced it to forbid the Toshiba Company to export products to any socialist country. This illegal discriminative measure has caused great damage to the company's socialist partners. The company's 25 contracts with China's foreign trade organization were thus influenced. In particular, the Japanese Government's measure has caused problems to China's trade. The statement of protest issued by China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade has mentioned this problem. The statement pointed out that it is necessary to take immediate action to remove man-made obstacles to the normal development of international trade with the United States and Japan. Facts have shown that the United States and its allies have repeatedly attempted to

use trade to place political pressure on socialist countries. They have formulated a set of policies hampering the normal development of commodity circulation on the world market. This situation cannot but influence a number of socialist countries' balance of trade and foreign debts. It should be noted that China also criticized the trade structure between China and Japan and between China and the United States. The structure has enabled the United States and Japan to have a large favorable trade balance with China each year. The case of the Toshiba Company makes clear that the governments of the United States and Japan are working hard to tighten its control of trade with socialist countries.

Northeast Asia

Mongolia To Attend Olympic Games in Seoul

LD111511 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT
11 Jan 88

[text] Ulaanbaatar January 11 TASS—The National Olympic Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic has today positively responded to the invitation of the International Olympic Committee to participate in the Summer Games of 1988. At its meeting it also endorsed the composition of the Mongolian delegation to appear at the Winter Olympics in Calgary. The National Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic expressed the hope that the Olympic Games of 1988 will make a contribution to strengthening the international Olympic movement and mutual understanding among nations.

DPRK Will Boycott Olympics Held Only in Seoul

LD121020 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT
12 Jan 88

[Text] Pyongyang January 12 TASS—The DPRK National Olympic Committee has announced its decision not to participate in the 24th Summer Games if they are to be held only in South Korea. The statement issued here says that the DPRK's sincere efforts to organize jointly the Olympic Games of 1988 in the north and south of Korea have failed to produce results because of the stand of South Korea insisting the Olympic Games be held only in the south.

Under these conditions, says the statement issued in connection with the approaching deadline on January 17 for the submission of applications on participation in the games, the north has no possibility to send such an application.

Guided by the wish to ensure national reconciliation, the DPRK National Olympic Committee will further make every effort for jointly holding the Olympic Games. The statement expresses the hope that an agreement to that effect could be reached at a joint north-south meeting whose holding this year was proposed by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labour Party of

Korea, DPRK President Kim Il-song in his new year address. Then, the statement says, the DPRK could review its stand on the Summer Olympic Games of 1988.

The DPRK National Olympic Committee believes that the International Olympic Committee and the National Olympic Committees, international sports organizations and peoples of all countries will show complete understanding of this stand prompted by responsibility for the destinies of the Korean nation.

Japanese Media Criticized for Silence on INF

OW080624 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Grigoriy Zaytsev, a Soviet Foreign Ministry expert, has said in an interview with Japanese journalists that the Washington USSR-U.S. summit showed that the two sides can advance the cause of disarmament. Already on the table of USSR-U.S. negotiations in Geneva is a joint draft of a treaty to cut strategic nuclear arms by 50%, he said, and approximately 80% of the draft is yet to be examined and agreed on.

Answering questions dealing with Soviet research under way in the area of space defense, Zaytsev said the USSR has no plan equivalent to the U.S. SDI program. The Soviet Union is conducting basic research in a variety of space technology fields, he said, adding that, for example, satellite communication systems and an early warning system are being developed. However, the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, is not manufacturing any type of space weapons, he emphasized.

Zaytsev pointed out that Japanese mass media, which in the past wrote many things about the threat of intermediate-range missiles to the security of Japan, are now remaining silent on the importance of the signing of the INF elimination treaty. In this connection, he noted that the INF treaty signed in Washington involves not obsolete arms, but two classes of modern nuclear weapons. As is well known, part of those missiles are deployed in the Asian part of the USSR.

We cannot but emphasize that the INF treaty marks a real start for further development in disarmament, Zaytsev said, and the triumph in this cause is not only for the Soviet Union and the United States, but for the whole world, including Asian nations, as well.

Zaytsev then made it clear that the text of the INF treaty has been presented to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for its examination and ratification.

Pentagon Seeking 'Access' to Japanese Technology

LD111202 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 11 TASS—The Pentagon is insistently seeking to get an access to Japan's accomplishments in science and technology. This is exactly the task that has been set to a group of experts of the U.S. Defense Department, who arrived in Tokyo today.

According to KYODO Tsushin news agency, the Pentagon emissaries are to visit enterprises and scientific research centres of the Nihon Denki, Sony, other leading electrical engineering and machine-building companies to select technological novelties that can be used for military purposes.

The U.S. military circles are trying to draw Japan to participation in a large-scale program of creating non-nuclear armaments of a fundamentally new type. According to the press, special interest in the United States is shown in Japanese developments that can be used for guiding missiles, building unmanned aircraft, "impenetrable" coatings of tanks, communication and control facilities.

U.S. Tries To Involve Japan in 'Asian SDI'

PM061653 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Pertinent Notes": "'Asian Version of SDI?'"]

[Text] Washington is not stopping its attempts to draw Japan into a new, particularly sinister spiral of the nuclear-missile arms race and to exploit the scientific and technical potential of the Land of the Rising Sun for its own military purposes. According to KYODO, the U.S. Administration has proposed to the Japanese Government and the country's military-industrial complex the elaboration of an ABM system for the Asian-Pacific region, that is, a sort of "Asian version of SDI."

According to explanations given by the new plan's U.S. authors, this system is to be a component in the U.S. "Star Wars" program and will enable the creation of an "ABM defense network for the vast airspace around Japan." In particular, it is planned to create computer-controlled radar systems, new ABM missiles, and also electromagnetic guns capable of destroying a potential adversary's intermediate- and shorter-range sea-launched missiles.

As yet the position of official Tokyo regarding the "Asian version of SDI" is not clear. As for the Japan Defense Agency and the military-industrial complex, they do not beat around the bush on this subject. KYODO points out that Japanese military and military-industrial circles think that the "creation of this system would make a substantial contribution to the country's defense" and intend to vigorously promote Japan's involvement in Washington's sinister plans.

However, in KYODO's opinion, this intention will hardly encounter unequivocal support from the overwhelming majority of Japanese, who rightly see in the "Asian version of SDI" only a danger of the Land of the Rising Sun's future involvement in the global U.S. nuclear-missile strategy.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Lao Cooperation Talks End in Moscow

LD111512 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The ninth session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic has closed in Moscow today.

The Soviet delegation was led by Vladimir Gusev, vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Laotian delegation—by Sali Vongkhamso, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party, vice-Chairman of the Laotian Council of Ministers.

The participants in the five-day session have summed up the results of bilateral economic cooperation over the past year, examined questions pertaining to its further perfection with due regard for the restructuring of economic management being carried out in the two countries.

For a further perfection of economic cooperation the sides have agreed to proceed from the need of all-round increase in the effectiveness of the use of Soviet economic aid in keeping with the specific conditions and real possibilities of Laos. In so doing, it was decided that along with the assistance in the construction of separate facilities of the infrastructure, economic ties will develop on a long-term and mutually beneficial basis. It is planned to set up joint ventures and establish direct production ties to build small and medium plants to ensure a speedy repayment of the capital investments.

A protocol has been signed on the results of the meeting, as well as a number of intergovernmental agreements on cooperation.

Agreements Signed

LD112257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] A regular session of the intergovernmental commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Laos has ended in Moscow. A number of documents were signed on the results of the session. Over to our correspondent Ashot Nasimov:

[Nasimov] The results of cooperation between our two countries over the past year were summed up at the session. Its successful impact on the construction of the foundations of socialism in Laos was noted. Naturally, attention to difficulties was not bypassed. The need to

increase in every way the effective use of Soviet economic aid was stressed. To vary its forms, it has been decided to set up joint enterprises and establish direct economic links between related enterprises in the Soviet Union and Laos.

All these questions were reflected in documents signed on the results of the session: a protocol; an intergovernmental agreement on the principles of the creation and activity of joint enterprises, as well as the establishment of direct production links; and a general agreement on cooperation in the field of the timber and woodworking industry to 2000.

I asked Vladimir Kuzmich Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, to comment on the content of these documents.

[Begin recording] [Gusev] The practical importance of these agreements is very great in the overall context of the development of relations between our countries. It appears that the creation of the first joint Soviet-Laotian enterprises will help, first and foremost, make a considerable step forward to be taken in the development of Laotian industry. I also believe, however, that our country will receive very interesting redwood materials and other articles for the furniture industry. The main thing is that we must render more assistance to Laos because this country is experiencing certain development difficulties. We see assistance in the country as a great contribution to the cause of peace, and this is also a practical aspect.

[Nasimov] Is the creation of joint enterprises in the field of the manufacture of wooden articles the only sphere of our possible cooperation?

[Gusev] In no way; the country's potential is enormous. There are also very great raw materials here, and such possibilities as the creation of chemical and petrochemical enterprises and of the agrarian complex, and a host of others. [end recording]

Lao Leaders Send Message of Thanks

PM111655 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

[Lao leaders' message thanking Soviet leadership bodies for anniversary congratulations]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee, the Supreme People's Assembly and Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], and the entire Lao people

we express profound gratitude to you and the entire fraternal Soviet people for the cordial congratulations and good wishes on the 12th anniversary of the proclamation of the LPDR.

We voice firm confidence that the effectiveness of the relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples of Laos and the Soviet Union based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism will be constantly enhanced in the name of the common cause of peace and socialism.

Permit us to take this opportunity to express profound gratitude to the party, the state, and the fraternal Soviet people for their constant, tremendous, effective assistance and support to the Lao revolution at all its stages.

Permit us to wish you and the entire fraternal Soviet people new and still greater successes in fulfilling the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and, particularly, in implementing all the tasks of restructuring in practice.

Kaysone Phomvihane, LPRP Central Committee general secretary and LPDR Council of Ministers chairman

Phoumi Vongvichit, LPDR acting president

Sisomphon Lovansai, LPDR Supreme People's Assembly acting president.

Near East & South Asia

Syrian Vice President Visits Gulf States

PM111116 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Shevchenko report: "Mediation Mission"]

[Text] Kuwait—Syrian Vice President 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, accompanied by Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar', is on a tour of Persian Gulf countries.

The Syrian representatives visited Kuwait and had a meeting with the amir. They will also visit Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, and Oman. In the course of talks with the Kuwaiti leadership, questions connected with recent events in the Persian Gulf and the quest for ways to end the Iran-Iraq war were discussed. Local observers note in this connection the stepping up of Syria's mediating role. Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar' visited Iran and Saudi Arabia on a mission of mediation in December.

"Syria advocates the ending of the war and the commencement of peaceful dialogue between the warring sides," F. al-Shar' stated. According to the local press, Tehran views Syria's efforts positively, and the hope is expressed that they will promote the process of normalization of the situation in the Gulf.

Libya's Jabir Receives Military Delegation
LD062110 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
2000 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Colonel Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, received today Lieutenant General Kondakov, chief of the 10th Directorate of the general staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, and an accompanying delegation.

Brutents in UAE Remarks on Gulf War, Soviet Stand
JN112149 Manama WAKH in Arabic 2040 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Dubayy, 11 Jan (WAKH)—Karen Brutents, the personal envoy of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, has stated that his talks with UAE President His Highness Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan dealt with important matters, international issues, and developments in the region, including the Palestinian uprising in Gaza and the West Bank. He also said that the talks dealt with bilateral relations.

Brutents described the meeting as important and cordial, permeated by an atmosphere of friendship. He emphasized that his highness, the UAE president, is interested in and supports promoting bilateral relations and that Soviet leaders are interested in cooperation between the two countries. He also said that Soviet-UAE relations are still at their beginning, having started with trade and economic relations and then having included political ties, which are further developing. He added that, although developing relations requires time, their scope is expanding.

At his news conference here today, Brutents said that he has come to the UAE tasked by the Soviet leadership to brief His Highness Shaykh Zayid about the Soviet-U.S. summit results.

Brutents said his country supports the Palestinian people's just cause. He said that Soviet citizens are angry at the current incidents in Gaza and the West Bank. He added that the current Israeli policy toward Arab citizens and the desire to keep the occupied territories are unrealistic and even conflict with Israeli interests.

He said he hopes that the Israeli leaders learn from what is taking place and do not tackle the Palestinian people's uprising with a policy of violence and intransigence. He pointed out that his country does not open its doors for Jewish emigration to Israel. He said that a specific number of Soviet Jews have left the country but that most of them have gone to Europe and not Israel.

The Soviet official stressed his country's desire to replace the ships in the region belonging to the Soviet Union and the other countries by UN ships, which will ease tension.

On the Soviet Union's stand on embargoing weapons to Iran, Brutents explained that the principal objective of Soviet policy in the region is to halt the Iraq-Iran war. His country will not oppose any decision to impose a weapons ban. He said that the present conflict between Iran and Iraq should be settled peacefully; the two adversaries should sit at the negotiating table. He said that this is contained in UN Security Council Resolution No 598, on which consensus has been reached among the five permanent members. The UN secretary general, Brutents went on, exerted his efforts on the basis of this resolution, and his mission is not over after the issuance of the UN Security Council's statement. We have agreed, he said, to the resolution on embargoing weapons to Iran, and our UN representative is participating in the preparation of this resolution. The Soviet Union fully supports the UN secretary general's efforts. Brutents added: If these efforts produce no results, we will then discuss the Soviet Union's stand on the question of an embargo. It is not farfetched, he said, and—I stress this point—we will vote for a resolution imposing an embargo. He affirmed that his country has not provided Iran with weapons for a long time.

Answering [words indistinct] about the mission of the UN secretary general, the Soviet official said that he cannot give a date, and it cannot be achieved easily, pointing out that the work of the Security Council takes place [words indistinct]. He added that the Soviet Union understands the need to maintain good relations with Iran, but we will not conceal our position on the war. Brutents added: Our good relations with it should contribute to ending the war, since this is the main duty. He also said: We do not place the issue of ending the war in a secondary place because ending this war in the region is a top Soviet priority.

The Soviet official expressed satisfaction that the Soviet proposal for setting up a multinational force is receiving positive responses.

Regarding a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Karen Brutents pointed out that the decision to withdraw is final, and not tactical. He said: We have no interest in a withdrawal coupled with [word indistinct] the bloody operations in Afghanistan. It is no coincidence that we support accord in Afghanistan and the formation of a coalition government in which all the political forces participate. He added: We have been considering the issue of withdrawal for a long time, but this year it became more serious, pointing out that this is a political decision by the Soviet leadership.

IZVESTIYA Comments on Palestinians' 'Uprising'
LD091723 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT
9 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The uprising of the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip continues and assumes an ever more organized character, the newspaper IZVESTIYA writes today. The

occupation authorities use on an increasingly wider scale military force against the participants in the unrest in a bid to establish, as the Israeli premier Shamir put it, by the mailed fist law and order.

The tragic events in the West Bank and Gaza drew the attention of the world public once again to the Arab-Israeli crisis and its core, the Palestinian issue, which have been unsettled so far and resemble a mine field. The scope of the protests and the fearlessness of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, fighting unarmed against the armed invaders, demonstrate anew that this problem cannot be dealt with by the mailed fist. It can be resolved by political means and them alone.

A fair Middle East settlement by political means and the convocation of a U.N.-sponsored international conference involving all parties concerned turn only on the position of the United States and Israel at present. They use, as before, any pretext to decelerate the process of a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.

One of the latest of them is the argument that in November, 1988, elections will be held both in Israel and the United States and this, allegedly, is a very unsuitable time for joining imposing international initiatives. What can one say about this kind of arguments?

First, if the events in the Israeli-occupied territories are developed in the same tempo as they are today, turning this issue into an acute election problem can hardly be avoided, at least in Israel. Second, it is evident even now that the Palestinians do not intend to tolerate another 20 years in the expectation of the restoration of their rights.

Time does not wait, and active preparatory work in the run-up to the convocation of the international conference should be launched already now, IZVESTIYA writes.

Deputies Issue Statement on Palestinians, Israel
LD112145 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—members of the Soviet-Arab section of the USSR parliamentary group have expressed anxiety and concern over the developments that have been taking place in the past several weeks on Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY circulated the text of their statement that was published by IZVESTIYA today.

The Soviet parliamentarians described the developments in Israeli-occupied lands as an "unequal confrontation between the Israeli military-police apparatus and a peaceful Palestinian population protesting against the occupation regime." They pointed out that the apparatus "is defending the order established by Israel some 20 years ago. It runs counter to all the international legal

norms, including provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention. In practice it means gross violation of basic human rights, the infringement on the national dignity of Palestinians, the trampling of their religious feelings, arbitrariness and discrimination."

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet urged their counterparts from other countries to use all their influence and prestige for bringing pressure to bear on the Israeli leadership. All those who hold dear the ideals of humanism, who really respect the striving of nations for freedom and the rights of individual cannot remain indifferent today when these noble principles are trampled underfoot, they pointed out.

The statement emphasized as well that "the developments in Israeli-occupied Arab lands again reminded the world in a most emphatic manner how necessary it is to find as soon as possible a solution to the Middle East problem." It can be resolved through the convocation of a peace conference on the Middle East. Ever more countries, peoples, national and international organizations, political and public figures come to support this idea. Parliamentarians of all the countries should make their concrete contribution to the attaining of this major goal, the statement said.

PLO's 'Arafat Interviewed on Israel, Gulf
PM082025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat by own correspondent V. Shevchenko: "Y. 'Arafat: Support for a Conference Is Growing"]

[Text] Kuwait—The meeting with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat took place in the Palestinian Fatah organization mission in Kuwait. He had been speaking at a big rally celebrating Palestinian Revolution Day. There were passionate speeches, songs, and poems at the rally. This festival on Kuwaiti soil is evidence of the Arab countries' solidarity with the struggling Palestinian people. The stirring atmosphere of that evening affected our conversation as well.

['Arafat] The Palestinian resistance movement is entering the new year stronger, more optimistic, more experienced, tougher, and more confident of its own strength. We have not forgotten our grim battles with the Israeli aggressors in Lebanon, who wanted to put an end to Palestinian resistance once and for all at a stroke, split Lebanon, and thus prepare the ground for the division of the entire Arab world. But Palestinian resistance held out, wrecking these plans.

The mass actions by Palestinians taking place at the moment in Israeli-occupied territories are evidence of the Palestinian people's loyalty to the cherished aim of liberating the motherland and setting up an independent state with its capital in Jerusalem. In the initial days of

the Palestinian revolution, Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir told me: "Your revolution has been born and has a right to exist." But now I would like to say that it also has the right to victory.

There is a growing worldwide awareness that the Palestinian problem is the core of the whole Near East settlement. The Palestinians' endless rebellion on the Israeli-occupied territories confirms the pressing need to convene an international peace conference on the Near East. These actions strengthen the positions of the supporters of a conference in which the permanent members of the UN Security Council, as well as interested parties, including the PLO—sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—must participate. The idea of convening a conference, as is known, enjoys widespread international support. Some 129 countries voted for it in the United Nations, with only the United States and Israel opposing the world community.

As far as the Palestinian people's struggle is concerned, we intend to continue it with every means available, including armed resistance. This is the right of any people struggling for its freedom and independence. At the forthcoming PLO Central Council session, we will be discussing issues concerning the situation in the occupied territories and the development of our struggle. [Arafat ends]

I asked Y. 'Arafat to give me his opinion on the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington.

[Arafat] We welcome the meeting between R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, which has had a favorable impact on the international situation. This mainly concerns nuclear disarmament. The accord to eliminate an entire class of missiles is an important step on the way to universal disarmament. We hope that the results of the meeting will have a positive influence on solving many topical problems and, in particular, on settling the Near East conflict. After all, the achievement of peace in the Near East and a just solution to the Palestinian problem will help strengthen international security as a whole.

While on the subject of the situation in the region, I must also mention the tense situation in the Persian Gulf region. The Iran-Iraq war must be terminated as soon as possible on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598. The war is not in the interests of either the Iraqis or the Iranians. It undermines the unity of Arab countries, the Islamic world as a whole, and the Nonaligned Movement. It is only playing into the hands of Israel and those forces which back it, as it is diverting the peoples of the Near and Middle East from solving urgent problems, primarily the Palestinian problem, Y. 'Arafat stressed.

Official Comments on PLO, Middle East Conference
LD111231 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0819 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Kuwait 11 Jan (KUNA)—The Kuwaiti AL-ANBA' today cited a Soviet official saying that raising

the idea of a provisional Palestinian government in exile for any discussion is premature because the issue has not officially been raised.

The official, who is Andrey Vdovin, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Middle East Department [name and title as received] added that the main issue today is the consolidation of the PLO as the principal side in any settlement of the Middle East problem. He stressed that the latest uprising has improved the PLO's international position, given the fact that there are some international parties led by the United States which are trying to question the PLO's role in order to exclude it from the settlement process.

Asked by AL-ANBA' whether the recent U.S.-Soviet summit has meant any change in the U.S. attitude toward the international conference, he replied: "The last few years have seen an international quasi-unanimity on the need for the convocation of such a conference. For our part we believe that it would be difficult for the Americans and the Israelis to ignore such a unanimity."

Regarding the visit of the PLO chairman to Moscow, the Soviet official asserted: "Such an invitation still stands; contacts with the Palestinian leadership and Abu Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] are continuing." Mr Vdovin praised the latest meeting between Arafat and Soviet leader Gorbachev in Moscow during the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, adding: "Such a meeting was important and fruitful. According to my information some very important matters were discussed between the two leaders."

'Approval' Given on Jordan-PLO Team to Conference
JN120935 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 8
Jan 88 p 1

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD has learned from high-level Arab diplomatic sources that the recent visit of Jordan's King Husayn to Moscow has achieved relative progress regarding the Soviet Union's view of an international conference for peace in the Middle East. The sources affirmed that Jordan has been given Soviet approval to form a Jordan-PLO delegation as a solution to the issue of the Palestinian representation at the conference. This is in addition to the Soviet approval of bilateral talks between the concerned sides at the conference on a geographic basis. The same sources said that the Soviet Union maintains a constant stand on the international conference, having a real and effective role.

Israeli Nuclear Capability Causes Arab Concern
TA101737 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Hebrew 1730 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Major General Amnon Shahaq, the head of the IDF's Intelligence Branch, has said that reports on Israeli nuclear weapons development have aroused concern in

the Arab countries and forced them to develop their own tools for mass extermination. Western intelligence and press reports indicate that Egypt, Syria, and Iraq have chemical warfare capability, while Libya is striving to equip itself with nuclear weapons. It should be pointed out in this context that Israeli peace-lovers have often warned that the development of apocalyptic weapons in Israel will necessarily lead to an arms race in the entire region. This in turn will jeopardize the very existence of the Jewish state.

We can see now that this gloomy forecast is becoming a reality. The responsibility for this development obviously rests primarily, although not exclusively, with the advocates of the nuclear option, namely the rightists in the Israeli Government. After all, it is evident that without political support and technological assistance from across the ocean, without the krytrons and the inexpensive technology needed for the enrichment of uranium, Israel would not have been able to produce even [words indistinct]. It should be pointed out in this context that the role Washington has recently assigned to Israel, namely that of becoming a mini-nuclear-superpower, has assumed greater importance. The reasons for this are well-known: the change in the balance in the world and particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union, which has created a new international atmosphere in which the Pentagon—whether it likes the idea or not—is forced to get rid of two types of nuclear missiles originally intended for deployment in Europe and in adjacent areas, including the Middle East. Hence the heads of the U.S. defense establishment want to exploit Israel's nuclear potential, such as the Jericho missiles with their nuclear warheads, to replace similar U.S. missiles.

It is consequently no surprise that the United States is prepared to assist Israel in developing nuclear missiles and will be prepared to continue to do so in the future as well. Yet even this is not the main thing; the most important thing is that from the point of view of certain U.S. strategists, the U.S.-Soviet dialogue will result in further agreements on the reduction of nuclear weapons, which means a worldwide change in terms of the supply of nonconventional weapons. This explains the Pentagon's desire to help various pro-American countries to develop their own nuclear potentials so as to promote the interests of the U.S. policy, each in their own region. Even if a specific ally does not possess nuclear weapons, U.S. propagandists portray it as a mini-nuclear-superpower in a bid to intimidate its neighbors. The outcome is inevitable: Ultimately, the neighboring countries, too, join the nonconventional armament race, usually by developing their chemical warfare capability, because this is considered the simple way.

Gen Shahaq's remarks therefore support the conclusion that the upgrading of the arms race in the region to a substantially new stage necessarily creates the conditions for a direct confrontation on dimensions that are far worse than lethal, which is to say, suicidal. If this is the

current development in the Middle East, then the Israeli public should be grateful for that not only to Shamir's men, but also to their proteges [as heard] in the United States.

Shevardnadze Visit to Afghanistan Detailed
LD061944 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1736 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 6 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, was in the DRA on a working visit 4-6 January.

E.A. Shevardnadze has two meetings with Najibullah, president of the DRA and general secretary of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee. E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to him warm greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Talks were held with the Afghan leadership on a wide range of issues. The talks were conducted, on the Afghan side, by President Najibullah. S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister A. Wakil, members and candidate members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, and secretaries of the PDPA Central Committee took part in them. On the Soviet side, V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, P.P. Mozhayev, USSR ambassador to the DRA, Yu.K. Alekseyev, head of the Middle East Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and special envoy N.I. Kozyrev took part in the talks.

President Najibullah spoke about the internal political situation in the country in the context of implementing the policy for national reconciliation. He noted that the all-Afghan dialogue is progressively developing and that in the course of it, the possibility of reaching a nationwide agreement and putting a stop to bloodshed is becoming increasingly clear.

The Afghan side expressed a number of new ideas on ways to give fresh impetus to implementing the national reconciliation policy and to settling the Afghan problem as a whole. These ideas were specific and were based on a realistic analysis of the existing situation in and around the country.

At the same time, great attention was paid to enhancing the role of state bodies at national and provincial levels, considering that the presidential form of government has been recently set up in Afghanistan by decision of the Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly].

On the whole, the situation at the Afghan-Pakistani talks being conducted through a personal representative of the UN secretary general is developing favorably. This gives

hope for completing soon the process of political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem. The Afghan side is constructively preparing for the next round of these talks and intends to conclude appropriate accords at it.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed complete support for the policy pursued by the Afghan leadership aimed at national reconciliation and for the practical steps being undertaken to implement it. The contacts that the Soviet side has had recently with representatives of other states confirm that there are good international preconditions for settling the situation around Afghanistan and ending external interference in its affairs. In turn, this will allow the contingent of Soviet troops there to be withdrawn from the country within 12 months. Complete understanding and agreement exist between the Soviet and Afghan sides on that count.

President Najibullah shared his impressions of his recent trips to India, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

At the negotiations, the state of Soviet-Afghan relations in various spheres was examined in detail and in depth. Special emphasis was placed in this regard upon the need for a more decisive switch to effective new forms of cooperation.

It was noted that the volume of Soviet-Afghan cooperation has grown considerably of late; a number of important industrial projects are about to go into operation. Trade and economic cooperation with Afghan private entrepreneurs is getting off the ground. An accord has been reached on activation of interaction between scientific institutions and cultural and public organizations.

Direct links between republics, oblasts, and cities of the USSR and provinces and cities of Afghanistan are becoming established in the practice of mutual relations.

Measures for further intensifying these processes were discussed, and a specific program of actions was outlined.

E.A. Shevardnadze had talks with A. Wakil, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan foreign minister; M. Rafi, S.M. Golabzoy and G.F. Yaqubi, members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo; S.N. Tanay, candidate member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo; M. Koshani, B. Baghlani and E. Kawa, members of the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers Organization of Afghanistan.

During the talks that V.M. Kamentsev had with S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA, with the chairman of the State Planning Committee of the DRA, and with heads of ministries and departments of Afghanistan, there was discussion of long-term plans for trade and economic cooperation.

A meeting also took place between E.A. Shevardnadze and a group of private entrepreneurs representing Afghanistan's national capitalists.

The talks and conversations were friendly and open in character and were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

Armacost's Line on Afghan Rebels Viewed

*PM111535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88
Second Edition p 5*

[Veniamin Shurygin "Observer's Opinion": "The Old Baggage"]

[Text] Islamabad, 7 Jan—The visit to Pakistan by Michael Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs, has ended. The U.S. envoy had talks with Abdus Sattar, Pakistani first deputy foreign minister, and other officials. Special attention was paid to the Afghan situation.

The visit was an unusual one in international political life. It took place soon after the Soviet-American summit at which the Afghan situation was discussed. What did the U.S. visitor bring along with him this time, and what were the results of his meetings and talks with the Pakistani leadership and Afghan counterrevolutionary leaders? These questions above all are politically interesting because the entire course of events in what is one of the world's hottest spots depends to a considerable extent today on the United States and Pakistan.

I would point out that, back in 1983, then U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger told the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee: "Without a strong and self-confident Pakistan, resistance in Afghanistan will founder." That was his argument in favor of increasing U.S. military aid to Islamabad. It must be said that it has been implemented at a mounting pace all these years. Following the implementation of an agreement worth \$3.2 billion, a new U.S.-Pakistani deal was struck worth more than \$4 billion. Western countries' aid to the Afghan counterrevolution has increased. Last year alone U.S. aid amounted to \$660 million. France, for example, allocated Fr2.5 million. The United States' other NATO partners did not lag behind. The dushman gangs have received from the West new, improved military equipment in the form of U.S. Stinger antiaircraft missiles and British Blowpipes. All this, naturally, has led to an exacerbation of the situation in the region.

But recently another process has been gathering momentum in Afghanistan in parallel with this: the process of national reconciliation. The Afghan leadership's policy in that sphere meets the fundamental interests of the country's people and has the support of broad circles of Afghan society and all those in the world who really want to see peace restored in Afghanistan. The policy of national reconciliation stems from the futility of seeking a military solution to the existing problems and the need

to end the fratricidal bloodshed, and it is prompted by concern that the country should develop along the path of peace, democracy, and social progress.

The Afghan counterrevolution and its imperialist patrons have used as their trump card the presence of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Distorting the aims and character of the Soviet international assistance to the Afghan people, they have portrayed it and continue to portray it as the only obstacle in the way of a political settlement of the "Afghan problem." The Soviet leadership's political decision to withdraw our forces in accordance with a strictly defined schedule, as long as the United States and its Western allies pledge for their part to stop supplying antigovernment forces with weapons and not to engage in other interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, was a heavy blow to this kind of propaganda.

Armacost's visit to Pakistan took place on the threshold of the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks, due to take place early this year, which are being conducted through the UN secretary general's representative Diego Cordovez. As is known, virtually the entire package of essential accords has been agreed on at them. The talks have entered a decisive phase. Their successful completion will ensure conditions for a political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem.

All these and other positive processes ought to prompt both the Pakistani leadership and its transatlantic allies to take important constructive decisions confirming their big promises about being prepared to contribute to the restoration of peace in Afghanistan. It was expected that Armacost's visit to Pakistan would be a contribution to this. Judging by reports from Washington and Islamabad, the expectations on this count were not borne out. During the meeting with the leaders of the Afghan gangs, Armacost assured them that the United States would give the counterrevolutionaries assistance and support "until they achieve their aims."

In this connection, I am bound to mention the visit E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has just completed to Afghanistan. The Afghan and Soviet leaderships are doing all they can for a political solution of the Afghan problem. But the efforts of two countries' governments are not enough in this case. All parties involved in the conflict must display goodwill and contribute through their own specific actions to the normalization of the situation in the country.

Afghan UN Representative Interviewed
LD082345 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2006 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] New York, 8 Jan (TASS)—It is possible that the next round of Geneva talks on settling the Afghanistan situation will be the last one, Shah Mohammad Dost, Afghanistan's permanent representative at the United

Nations said to a TASS correspondent. In relation to this, he pointed out the great importance that the Afghan Government attaches to the results of the working visit to Kabul by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs.

Within the framework of the Geneva process, Dost said, the entire package of accords has been practically agreed and preparation of the corresponding documents is near completion.

U.S. military assistance to antigovernment groups is a very serious obstacle in the way of the peace process, he stated. In accordance with the agreements reached, outside interference must cease completely before a troop withdrawal begins, international guarantees come into force, and the refugees begin to return home. As one of those states which are to be guarantors of the noninterference obligation, the United States is obliged not only to support the agreement but also to refrain itself from interfering in Afghanistan's affairs. The U.S. is also, first and foremost, to stop arms deliveries to extremists and counterrevolutionaries, whatever names they might be given.

Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, will soon leave for our region to hold talks in Kabul and Islamabad, the Afghan diplomat noted. The two sides are taking part in the Geneva talks, and the next round could be the last if Pakistan arrives in Geneva with the same good, political will and flexibility as Afghanistan.

Pakistani Tribes Fight Afghan Rebels
LD071448 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 7 (TASS)—TASS News Analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Tension persists in the north-western part of Pakistan, in the area of the habitat of the Pashtoon tribes, near the Pakistani-Afghan frontier. The Pashtoos are continuing their struggle, despite the censorship, introduced by the Islamabad authorities, information is filtering into the press on armed skirmishes of Pashtoon units with units of Pakistani Armed Forces and gangs of Afghan counterrevolutionaries, destruction of dushman camps and training centres. The Pashtoos intercepted a lorry column with weapons for the dushmans in the Chitral area yesterday. A few days ago they attacked a garrison in the area of Sadda, hit strikes on dushman centres in the Kurram area, fired at a strongpoint in Kuki.

The Pashtoos do not intend to put up with the stay of the aliens on their land. It is exactly in those areas which are in direct proximity of Afghanistan that Afghan dushmans established their bases with the assistance of the American and Pakistani supporters. The most suitable and shortest routes of dushmans' penetration to

Afghanistan run through those territories. By these high-land roads leaders of dushman formations, with their bases in Pakistan, sent their armed groups to back up the counter-revolutionary forces routed by the Afghan Army in the area of the Afghan town of Khowst. "Foreign advisers"—Americans, Frenchmen, West Germans penetrate to Afghanistan by the same routes under the guise of journalists, doctors, news reel men.

The Islamabad authorities, which do not heed the Pash-toons' desire to live in peace and friendship with the neighbours, including the tribes on the territory of Afghanistan, are using every means to impel the freedom-loving people to be obedient. The arsenal of these means includes armed punitive operations by regular Pakistani troops against separate Pashtoon tribes, arrests of elders and killings of steadfast tribe chiefs and clergymen, bribery and blackmail. Islamabad has been broadly using in the recent time armed units of dushmans to "maintain" order, and they brutally deal with the Pash-toons.

But Islamabad's efforts are futile. No methods can break the resistance of the people—the Pashtoons are fighting for their freedom and independence, they do not want their lands to become a bridgehead for the undeclared war against neighbouring Afghanistan. The evidence of that is their mounting struggle for the rightful cause.

Agriculture Protocol Signed With Afghanistan
LD091723 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT
9 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—A protocol signed between the State Agri-Industrial Committee of the USSR and the Afghan Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform here today provides for developing bilateral cooperation in farming.

This will include increased Soviet supplies of tractors, harvesters, mineral fertilizers, and the seeds of wheat and other crops specially zoned for Afghanistan.

Afghan Agriculture and Land Reform Minister Ghulam Faruq Kobakiwal, who led his country's delegation to the talks in Moscow, told TASS that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the field was stable.

"Over post-revolutionary years the Soviet Union has been helping Afghanistan with economic development and social transformation," he said.

"Our farmers have received agricultural machinery from the USSR. Five machine and tractor stations have been built and another two are under construction in Afghanistan with Soviet technological assistance. Arrangements for direct assistance to all Afghan provinces from 12 Soviet constituent republics are very important to us."

Ghulam Faruq Kobakiwal added that the Soviet agri-industrial committee and the Afghan Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform had drafted a long-term program for developing agriculture in Afghanistan in the period ending in the year 2000.

Moscow-Kabul Cooperation Delegation Set Up
LD111419 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0858 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—A delegation of specialists set up by the Moscow Gorispolkom will aim to clarify on-the-spot, practical questions relating to deliveries from Moscow to Kabul of materials, equipment, and construction machinery for the city's needs. The delegation left today for a meeting with Afghan colleagues. The deliveries envisioned by a treaty on cooperation in various areas between the two cities are being effected as aid for the development of Kabul.

This treaty is in accordance with the friendly relations between Moscow and Kabul which, this year, will have existed for 30 years. In this time, the Soviet capital has provided the capital of Afghanistan with varied assistance in solving important questions of its urban economy, primarily in the sphere of construction. A new element of cooperation will be establishment of direct economic and patronage links between a number of Moscow and Kabul enterprises, which is planned for this year.

'Espionage' by French Journalist in Afghanistan
LD111625 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin reports:

Irrefutable evidence proves a spy nature of a voyage to Afghanistan of the French citizen Alain Guillo. This has been stated at a press conference for Afghan and foreign journalists organized by the BAKHTAR news agency. Speakers included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of State Security and the Special Revolutionary Court of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Alain Guillo illegally penetrated Afghanistan nine times from January 1980 to September 1987, when he was handed over to the competent bodies of the Republic of Afghanistan by an armed group that went over to the side of people's power in Faryab Province. It was reported at the press conference that now the details of all the 'journalistic trips' of Guillo to Afghanistan were known. Practically all of them were connected with espionage activities.

Journalists were told about Guillo's connections. Thus, in France he maintained contacts with the Foreign Ministry and the Sygma agency and in Pakistan—with a number of French diplomats, representatives of security services of Pakistan and the Ministry of Information.

The espionage nature of Guillo's mission has been proved. He was sentenced by the Special Revolutionary Court of Afghanistan to ten years of imprisonment. However, it is not clear so far what is the share of the French Government's responsibility for the criminal activities of its citizen. A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan said: "All the governments should prevent hostile and illegal actions of their citizens against other countries and, in any case, not to encourage them. This is one of the pillars of normal international relations. In the past French citizens were arrested on more than one occasion for criminal actions on Afghan territory. Wishing to maintain normal relations with France, Afghanistan displayed a humane attitude to those people. However, the hostility of some circles in France with regard to Afghanistan is growing from one year to the next. We hope that France will assume a more constructive stand, which will benefit bilateral relations".

Before the press conference was over, a BAKHTAR statement was read out there. "Circumstances of the Guillo case make it obvious that the imperialist countries, far from reducing the scope of hostile activities against Afghanistan, are expanding them through massive smuggling of their spies and instructors to Afghanistan. This is confirmed by the latest developments in the Khowst area", the statement said. These actions grossly violate standards of the international law and principles of interstate relations, it pointed out.

So far as journalists are concerned, they are given ample opportunities to cover the situation in Afghanistan by official ways. The statement said that in the past year alone the country had been visited by 270 foreign journalists, including French ones. Those who further other aims prefer to penetrate Afghanistan illegally, like Alain Guillo.

The BAKHTAR news agency is authorized to state that, according to the existing information, Afghan extremist groups have been instructed to prevent the capture by Afghan authorities of foreign citizens staying with them without stopping short of murder. For this reason the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan cannot guarantee the security of foreigners who illegally penetrate the country in violation of generally recognized international norms. "We again urge all the foreign citizens, including French ones, to think over possible consequences of illegal voyages to Afghanistan, to refrain from them and not to disgrace the profession of a journalist", the statement emphasized.

Briefs

Aid to Afghanistan Noted

Dushanbe January 7 TASS—A group of physicians from the Kulyab region in the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan have left for the neighboring Afghan province of Takhar to give medical assistance to the local rural population. Among other things, they will carry out preventive measures against infectious diseases and bring medical tools and medicines for first aid stations in the countryside. The trip was undertaken under an agreement on cooperation between the two neighboring territories of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. It provides for Soviet assistance to the Afghan neighbors also in economic and cultural fields. Similar agreements have been signed between two other regions in Tajikistan and two neighboring Afghan provinces. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 7 Jan 88 LD]

East Europe

Ligachev Welcomes CSSR's Jakes to Moscow
PM121445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88
First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] M. Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, arrived in Moscow on a working visit 11 January at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

He was met at Vnukovo Airport by Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; R.P. Fedorov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR; and other officials.

The welcoming party included J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

The state flags of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were flying at the airport.

Spokesman on Visit's Meaning
Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow Jan 7 (CTK correspondent)—The strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation with the socialist countries is the priority line of the Soviet foreign policy, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfiliev stressed at a press conference here today.

Dealing with the forthcoming working visit of General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes to the Soviet Union, he stressed that the Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are based on the principles of

unconditional and full equality, responsibility of the ruling parties for the management of their states, respect for successes and experiences of friends and care for the common cause of socialism.

Both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union share the need to make their social and economic development more dynamic, and make a fuller use of the enormous potential of socialism. The visit of Milos Jakes will contribute to the all-round strengthening of bilateral fraternal relations, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

Talks With Gorbachev

*LD111930 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT
11 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met in the Kremlin today with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Describing the results of the December 1987 plenary meeting of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Jakes pointed out that Czechoslovakia entered a new crucial period in socialist construction connected with restructuring and deepening of socialist democracy. That called for invigoration of the party's entire work.

The principal task was to link the policy of restructuring and democratization, worked out at the party plenary meeting, with life, to direct it into a channel of real politics.

Gorbachev highly assessed the aspiration of the Czechoslovak Communists to renovate forms of public life and speed up the solution of topical problems facing fraternal Czechoslovakia. "The measures carried out in Czechoslovakia evoke lively interest and understanding in our country," he added.

Gorbachev and Jakes pointed out that, with specific features, scale and pace of change, forms and methods of attaining goals advanced, the overall direction of the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was identical.

This opened up favourable conditions for further all-round development of Soviet-Czechoslovak ties in the field of economy, ideology, science and culture.

Sharing the CPSU's experience, Gorbachev observed that a new stage of restructuring began for the party and the country. In the conditions when the interests of millions of people were affected, when all of society was being set into motion, party work acquired new dimensions.

In fulfilling the part of the political vanguard of society, the party was concentrating attention on the elaboration of a scientifically substantiated strategy of social development, determining personnel policy and on ideological work.

Plenary sessions of party committees and meetings of communists are held, and reports by elective bodies on their work in guidance of restructuring are discussed. In most places the campaign is proceeding in a spirit of frankness, constructive criticism and self-criticism.

Questions about the need to master political methods of leadership and to free party bodies of purely economic and managerial functions which are unusual to them are being raised keenly.

Mikhail Gorbachev described the work being done in preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

Matters pertaining to the international situation were discussed during the meeting. Milos Jakes highly appreciated the importance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. He emphasized that the Czechoslovak people welcomed the treaty as a triumph of reason and political responsibility.

It was pointed out that the politico-diplomatic results of last year had created good prerequisites for the new year 1988 to be marked by substantial progress in the cause of strengthening peace and peoples' security.

A further solution to the problems of reducing nuclear arms as well as conventional arms and the armed forces in Europe, and of eliminating chemical weapons acquires paramount importance.

The two sides reaffirmed the determination of the two parties and countries to continue actively to cooperate with the allied member states of the Warsaw treaty organization and with all other socialist countries, seeking the removal of the nuclear threat, the attainment of disarmament, and the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Lays Wreaths in Moscow

*LD121023 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
0800 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Text] The Soviet Union: Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, who is in the Soviet Union on a working visit, paid his respects today to the memory of the founder of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, the leader of the world proletariat, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, and laid a wreath at this mausoleum on the Red Square. He also paid homage to the memory of Soviet soldiers who gave up their lives in the fight against Hitlerite fascism and laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at

the Kremlin Wall. During the solemn ceremony Comrade Milos Jakes was accompanied by Lev Zaykov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary and Moscow Gorkom first secretary.

Officials Attend Dinner

*LD112143 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 11 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On the same day in the Great Kremlin Palace a dinner was given in honor of Milos Jakes on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee. Together with the guests also present were the Czechoslovak officials accompanying Milos Jakes.

On the Soviet side there were Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Talyzin, Yazov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, and Kapitonov. [passage omitted]

The speeches were greeted with applause. The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

*PM121225 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88
Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report on 11 January dinner speech by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev, under the general headline: "Unity of Views, Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Following is the full text of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at a dinner in honor of the visiting Czechoslovakia Communist Party Central Committee general secretary, Milos Jakes:

Dear comrades, friends,

Comrade Jakes has long been known in our party and country as a prominent figure of fraternal Czechoslovakia, communist-internationalist and sincere friend of the Soviet Union. It is a great pleasure to cordially welcome him in Moscow today in a new capacity—as Czechoslovakia Communist Party Central Committee general secretary.

I pondered more than once: What determines the strength of ties among socialist countries, reliability of relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia?

Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship has many living roots. They are in the deep recesses of people's memory and in feelings of kinship shared by our peoples. They are in the strategic coincidence of the aims of the two allied socialist nations and the considerable benefit received by our two countries from economic interaction. No matter how great the role of these factors, one cannot fail to mention particularly the invariable solidarity of Soviet and Czechoslovak communists, based on mutual respect, confidence and honest comradeship.

All that is a gain of our peoples, our common property. Both sides are resolved to uphold and strengthen them in all ways.

We have just completed an exchange of views and discussed a broad range of questions. There is an apparent unity of views between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on principal issues of building socialism, on the international situation and on chief, priority directions of internal and foreign policy.

There is mutual agreement that restructuring and democratization in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia would help intensify further Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and would, in turn, receive increasingly powerful impetuses from its development.

Our economic interaction is fruitful and effective. But life does not stand still. It is necessary to look for and introduce promising, more rational forms of cooperation and specialization in production.

The experience of restructuring has proved to us that advantages of the socialist system, including those in the field of economic cooperation, do not materialize by themselves. They are but a possibility to be translated into life through painstaking work, through innovative policies. An old Russian proverb conveys this relationship between the possible and the real: God helps those who help themselves.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia now need a scientifically substantiated long-term concept of economic, scientific and technological cooperation for 15-20 years ahead.

This is a task of immense importance, it ought to be tackled with all seriousness. We favor the removal of all logjams and barriers standing in the way of integration. Experience gained and advanced ideas should be put into use. Creative energy of the masses is to be released to achieve concerted solution to problems of scientific and technological progress.

In brief, the results of our talks with Comrade Jakes can be summed up in the following way: While highly assessing the present state of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, we are convinced that it is in the mutual interests to advance our cooperation along all directions, including the sphere of superstructure. We had a substantive conversation. It was agreed to issue specific instructions on a number of positions.

We also examined with Comrade Jakes major problems of international politics. We noted with satisfaction last year's positive achievements. The signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles is a common success of socialist foreign policy. This agreement graphically showed that, given political

will, it is possible to handle most complicated issues of disarmament. The new political thinking, initiated by the socialist countries, is beginning to make headway.

Two years ago we put forward a program of ridding the world of nuclear weapons that could destroy all living things on earth. International public opinion highly assessed that call and backed it. But, to put it bluntly, many people hardly believed in the possibility of the implementation of this large-scale program. We are no naive people. We understand that difficulties are indeed great here. But our program is based not on shallow dreams and illusions, but on realities of today's world. The accords reached in Washington confirm the realism of our idea.

A nuclear-free world can and should be established. The Soviet Union not only proclaims this, but is also carrying out specific deeds and initiatives. This applies both to the reduction by half of the strategic offensive arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union, and the elimination of chemical weapons, reduction of conventional arms and armed forces.

I would like to point out, however, that nuclear disarmament is incompatible with the preparation for "Star Wars". It is a bad policy when weapons are destroyed with one hand, and new ones are forged with the other, when mankind is promised a chance of survival, while this chance is crossed out by the implementation of SDI plans.

In our view, eliminating nuclear weapons and establishing a nuclear-weapon free, non-violent world make up the only reliable shield for all countries and peoples. We are prepared for that. We will spare no effort to attain that highly humane objective.

Considerable logjams of prejudice are yet to be overcome to march the entire road towards the drastic improvement of the international situation. Take Europe, for instance. Influential political circles are still cultivating mistrust in objectives and intentions of the socialist countries. There are even attempts to portray the Washington missiles treaty as a result of Moscow's "perfidious" policy directed, allegedly, at weakening the Western alliance. The clamor about the need for some kind of "compensation" is being raised.

We believe that in our common European home there should be no room for unjustified suspicion. We regard Western European countries not as our enemies in a mutually destructive nuclear war, but as neighbors, partners in mutually advantageous cooperation. Europe, having realized its integrity from the Atlantic to the Urals, would be a reliable basis for peaceful coexistence of states, irrespective of their social systems.

The socialist countries give a befitting rebuff to attempts to present the Warsaw treaty as a source of danger to the West.

We are told that Western Europeans are alarmed over the imbalance and asymmetry in forces of the Warsaw treaty and NATO. But alarm is felt also by peoples in Eastern Europe who keep in their memory the suffering and destruction caused by invasion from the Western direction. The more so, for asymmetry is in no way one-sided. We are prepared to reduce the arms in which we have an advantage, but we expect exactly the similar approach on the part of NATO member countries in areas where disbalance is in their favor.

In matters related to security, one should not be too smart, one should not seek merely unilateral advantages. It is possible to act here only on the basis of reciprocity and identical security.

The Warsaw treaty countries stand for openness in politics, for its constructiveness and peaceful orientation. Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic jointly suggest creating in Central Europe a corridor free from nuclear and chemical weapons. Bulgaria and Romania suggest establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Poland puts forward additional confidence-building measures on the border of the two military-political alliances.

Flowing into a single current, the efforts of the socialist countries are continuing the all-European process started in Helsinki. Implementation of their initiatives would help establish a new political atmosphere in relations between Western and Eastern Europe.

Esteemed Comrade Jakes!

In conclusion, let me wish you, the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the people of fraternal Czechoslovakia successes in handling problems of the country's social and economic development along the road of restructuring and deepening of socialist democracy.

This year, Czechoslovakia will mark major dates in its history—first and foremost 40 years since embarking on the road of socialism. We wish in a fraternal way our Czechoslovak friends success in this year in all areas.

We wish happiness and prosperity to the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

Jakes Dinner Speech

*PM121457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88
Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report on 11 January Kremlin dinner speech by M. Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, under the general heading: "Unity of Views, Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gorbachev, Esteemed Comrades!

First of all I wish wholeheartedly to thank the CPSU Central Committee for the invitation to make this friendly working visit, for the cordial welcome, and for the kind words which you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, have said about the work of the CPCZ and our people and about the high level of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. We value this very much. I wish to assure you that the unbreakable Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship is something of the greatest value to us, which we will always preserve and develop.

Our talks have been profound and substantive. They took place in an atmosphere of frankness, mutual trust, and complete unity of views on all fundamental questions of the domestic and foreign policies of our fraternal parties and countries. This stems from the long-standing, profound friendly ties tested by history, the strong alliance, and the broad cooperation between Czechoslovak and Soviet communists and our peoples, and the community of ideas, interests, and aims. I would like to emphasize that our unity is also founded on full agreement in assessing the nature of the present pivotal stage and the requirements inherent in it.

During our talks we discussed a wide range of questions and made a high assessment of the level of the truly international relations between our fraternal parties, all-around Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, and the broad ties between our countries' public organizations and peoples. We reached the conclusion that there is great potential for further broadening and enriching our cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and other spheres and enhancing its efficiency.

We agreed that it is necessary to act more decisively in applying new forms of economic cooperation, to ensure the long-term division of labor and coordination of economic policy, and to remove the obstacles standing in the way of the broad development of collaboration and specialization, the establishment of direct ties, and the creation of joint enterprises.

The greatness of the times and the revolutionary nature of the tasks advanced by our fraternal parties' congresses insistently demand that the maximum use be made of this potential.

Our talks, Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, are the continuation of your portentous visit to our country last year. The visit convincingly demonstrated how Czechoslovak communists and the Czechoslovak people empathize with the CPSU's Leninist course. We are following with unusual interest the revolutionary transformations taking place in your country under the CPSU's leadership. This CPSU policy enjoys the full support of communists and our people. It has become a source of inspiration, experience, and support in resolving our tasks stemming from the needs of further socialist building in the CSSR. Although we take account of the

specific conditions in our country, of course, revolutionary goals of common significance and magnitude stand before us. The paths leading to their attainment also coincide. Like the communists and the people of the Soviet Union, we also seek the further improvement of socialism through comprehensive restructuring and democratization. We are conscious of our common international responsibility for commissioning in full the socialist system's tremendous potential in the interests of constantly improving people's lives, in the interests of enhancing socialism's prestige and attractiveness in the world. In this connection great significance attaches also to the making of corresponding changes in CEMA activity.

The foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state enjoys full support in our country. Our citizens showed exceptional interest, Mikhail Sergeyevich, in your talks in Washington, whose portentous results in the matter of averting the nuclear threat awaken great hopes in all people of goodwill. The new political thinking embodied in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries has rightly become synonymous with a policy of peace, humanism, and a truly humane approach to resolving vitally important questions affecting our entire planet. This policy is meeting with an ever greater response and support from peace-loving, progressive, and realistically minded forces throughout the world.

As you know, an important CPCZ Central Committee plenum was held at the end of last year to examine the question of realizing the 17th congress' strategic line of accelerating economic and social development. It adopted large-scale decisions relating to further steps aimed at comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism and deepening socialist democracy. Just like you Soviet communists, we are guided by the principle that more socialism means, above all, more democracy.

Our Communist Party is the inspiring and directing force behind the implementation of the restructuring program. Therefore we adopted at the CPCZ Central Committee December Plenum principled decisions on restructuring party work, strengthening the party's unity and capability, and improving cadre work. We intend to utilize the experience of Soviet Communists in resolving these questions and developing the policy of openness, glasnost, and public control. CPCZ policy is called upon to raise our society to a qualitatively new, higher level, improve the functioning of the national economy, and develop social relations on a healthy basis so that people can live increasingly well and our state can be a strong link in the socialist community and make a weighty contribution to the great struggle for peace and socialism. We wish to travel this path in fraternal unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The tasks facing us are, without exaggeration, tremendous, complex, and truly revolutionary. We realize we

will have to overcome considerable obstacles and difficulties in resolving them. We are convinced we will cope with them if we take the Leninist path and make efficient use of all the material and spiritual forces in our community.

We will soon be celebrating the historic 40th anniversary of the people's victory in February 1948, which opened up the path to socialist building for our motherland. We want to use this anniversary to unswervingly develop February's glorious legacy in fulfilling the revolutionary tasks of the present day.

In conclusion permit me, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, on behalf of the CPCZ and all our motherland's citizens, to wholeheartedly wish the CPSU Central Committee, you personally, Soviet communists, and the entire Soviet people great successes in the cause of restructuring and in work for the good of the Soviet society and a peaceful, happy life.

Departs Moscow 12 Jan

LD121239 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT
12 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, left Moscow today. He was staying in the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee on a working visit.

He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Further on Poland's Rakowski's Visit

Meets With Gromyko

PM111349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] "Restructuring delights Poles, your transformations delight me, they delight the whole world"—this statement is by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and vice marshal of the Polish Sejm.

He said this at talks in the Kremlin 8 January, when received by A.A. Gromyko.

Continuing his thought, the guest pointed out that restructuring is having a tremendous influence on the communist and workers movement, on all socialist countries, and also on the whole world in general, since it applies not only to internal transformations within the Soviet Union but also to changes in international relations in a direction favorable to the peoples.

Before coming to the Soviet Union he had already almost finished writing a book on restructuring in the USSR. He took material for his work from our press. Like many people in the world, he is pleasantly surprised at how boldly problems are being raised in Soviet publications and how many talented people are coming to light in the Soviet country at this time.

However, he will have to rewrite a considerable part of his book, because he has gotten to know the problems of restructuring in greater depth following his stay in the Soviet Union and his talks in Moscow.

Literally everyone in Poland is talking about restructuring in the USSR: not only at official meetings but also in the working environment, at peasant gatherings, at ordinary meetings of friends, and in the family circle. There is unprecedented interest in the Soviet state. Poles realize the Soviet Union remains the chief force of socialism in our camp and plays a tremendous role throughout the world.

The fact that there is no lingering disquiet [ne goryat ogni bespokoystviya] on our eastern border, the guest said, is a very great achievement of Poland's democratic forces over the past 40-odd years. This is a radically new situation for Poland that has not existed for many centuries.

A.A. Gromyko remarked that these judgments made him recall past events in which he himself had participated. This question, in particular, was put point-blank following Poland's liberation from fascism: What must this state be like? The Soviet Union replied unambiguously at that time: Poland must be friendly toward it. The reply which the Western allies gave was this: Poland must remain what it was before the war and essentially continue following in the capitalist countries' wake.

There were fierce battles at all the allies' conferences on the Polish question. They were particularly acute at Potsdam. It sometimes seemed that the time had come to strike the table with one's fist and slam the door. However, the Soviet delegation displayed a patience that could be called iron. This applies to Stalin above all. He fought like a lion for Poland to be a socialist state friendly to the Soviet Union and not an appendage of the Western bloc. He was successful: In the end it was precisely the decision for which the Soviet Union had been struggling that was adopted.

After that the Soviet delegation breathed a sigh of relief. This is probably what mountain climbers feel when they reach a pass and see a fine view and an easier path open up before them.

A.A. Gromyko dwelt in particular on the principle of the inviolability of borders in postwar Europe. Those circles and forces in the West—and they still, unfortunately, exist in some places—which raise the question of a revision of Poland's borders are not doing so out of

stupidity. The line of the Polish leadership, which upholds the principle of the inviolability of the modern borders and rejects all concepts that have nothing in common with either the realities of today or the future of Europe, deserves all possible support.

Socialist Poland is the Polish people's greatest achievement and, it could be said, the holy of holies which that people resolutely uphold and regard as the only path for the development of their country's present statehood.

Soviet people in general are informed about the difficulties of modern Poland and about the forces which are hindering its development along the general path taken.

At the same time, we know socialism in Poland has proved its vital strength. We believe the Polish people will find the solution to the problems facing the country and are capable of eliminating external influences hostile to socialism.

The Soviet Union's very existence is already a tremendous aid to socialist Poland. It has no intention of imposing on the Polish leadership its own ideas or prescriptions for action in the contemporary situation. This has been said repeatedly in Soviet official statements. However, we are ready to develop relations and strengthen and enrich them along all lines, above all in the economic sphere. It is good that our party and parliamentary exchanges have become more active. It is worth widely mobilizing ties, including informal ties, among our countries' young people and among various kinds of public organizations. In general, if you look at the geographical map, it is possible to state boldly that fate itself has prescribed that the Soviet Union and Poland should have only good-neighborly, friendly relations.

These exist. They are given constant boosts by the close contacts between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and between our countries' leaderships.

Soviet-Polish friendship was sealed by our servicemen's blood in the joint struggle during the years of the last war. The results of that struggle are well-known. It is continuing now, for peace, for nuclear disarmament, for the search for new agreements to this end.

The talks were held in the warm, friendly atmosphere characteristic of the relations between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Polish People's Republic.

Present at the talks were Marcin Borowicz, director of the Polish Sejm Socioeconomic Council Secretariat, and Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR.

Talks With Lukyanov

PM111637 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 8 January A.I. Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, met with M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and vice marshal of the Polish Sejm, who is in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During an exchange of opinions great attention was devoted to problems of deepening and developing democracy in the Soviet Union and Poland and to the further strengthening of cooperation between the two countries.

W. Natorf, Polish Ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talks.

Holds News Conference

LD082226 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 8 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski today met Soviet and foreign journalists in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center. Comrade Rakowski commented in his opening address that his chief impression of his stay in Moscow was of the Soviet people's certainty of achieving the goals targeted by the restructuring of all spheres of social life. He said the majority of the Polish people welcome the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, and glasnost, which is being widely used by the mass information media, he said.

In answer to a question on the place of the PZPR in realizing the goals of the second stage of economic reform in Poland, Comrade Rakowski stressed that the PZPR sees its task not in administrative intervention in economic affairs, as was the case in recent years, but in stepping up political and ideological influence on public awareness. This is a difficult, lengthy, but a necessary process.

Replies were also given to other questions from journalists.

PAP on Conference

LD091037 Warsaw PAP in English 0026 GMT
9 Jan 88

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 8—During a press conference held here today, Sejm deputy-speaker Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, speaking about his impressions from his stay in Moscow and meetings with Soviet politicians and scientists, drew attention to Soviet society's firm belief in the success of the perestroika. This merits even

stronger accentuation since the contemporary world is drenched with pessimism, while here I met people full of belief that the goals which they have set themselves can be achieved," Rakowski said.

The Sejm deputy speaker also spoke about the importance of the transformations which are taking place in the USSR for Soviet-Polish relations. "The ideas of reconstruction are supported by all sound-minded Poles. They have a favourable impact on the development of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. This is a process which is directed against those forces in Poland which turned anti-Sovietism into their programme" Rakowski said.

"The success of the reforms in Poland depends on us alone. However, there can be no doubts whatsoever that the Soviet Union's successes in the area of transformation also strengthen the reformative trend in Poland. The same thing applies in the reverse direction," he said.

During the press conference, which was held in the information centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski also answered many questions posed by Soviet and foreign newsmen and which pertained to the situation in Poland.

Concludes Visit

LD101916 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT
10 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and vice-marshal of Polish Sejm, left Moscow today. He paid an official visit to the USSR at the invitation of chairmen of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Continues Official Visit to Sweden

Interviewed on Reform

PM111333 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish
27 Dec 87 pp 8-9

[Undated interview with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by Christina Jutterstrom and Harald Hamrin: "Ryzhkov Does Not Want To Carry Through Reforms Too Quickly"]

[Text] "With perestroika we are renewing our country on socialist foundations, so we are not reintroducing capitalism."

So said Nikolay Ryzhkov, Soviet prime minister since 1986 [as published], who arrives in Sweden on an official visit 11 January.

From his office behind the brick-red walls of the Kremlin he controls over 100 ministries and state committees whose task it is to implement Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika.

Prior to his visit to Sweden he granted DAGENS NYHETER's chief editor Christina Jutterstrom and the paper's Moscow correspondent, Harald Hamrin, an exclusive interview.

DAGENS NYHETER: In Sweden we are following with great interest the Soviet reform process, which generally goes under the name perestroika. Would you like to give us a general analysis of this perestroika, its causes and aims?

Ryzhkov: By perestroika (restructuring) we mean a relatively lengthy process of revolutionary renewal of society, of deep transformations in all spheres of life—political, economic, social, and cultural.

There are a large number of reasons that have made this restructuring urgent. These include both falling economic growth and stagnation in many spheres, and mistakes and omissions within the country's leadership [ledning]. A braking mechanism, as we say, has developed, and it affects socio-economic development.

It is appropriate to ask: What has caused all this? We naturally sought an answer to this question by thoroughly analyzing both our past and our present. It was clear that the roots of this "braking" lay in shortcomings in socialist democracy's functioning and in the backward, overbureaucratized, cumbersome economic mechanism which prevents the workers' personal interests from being combined with the interests of the whole of society.

Our socialist society possesses a gigantic economic, political, cultural, and spiritual potential. But we make extremely inefficient and quite often downright wasteful use of these riches.

What are we going to do in the next few years to change this situation? We have worked out an all-embracing platform for reorganization covering the economy, the political system, and the social and spiritual spheres. This platform has won the warm support of Soviet people and, as is well-known, met with broad international understanding.

Now we are in the second, more complicated, and responsible phase, in which we have begun implementing and putting into practice everything that has been decided on a broad front.

It goes without saying that we are renewing our country, our society only on socialist foundations and are not reintroducing capitalism. Here we are making use of the lessons learned by other countries, primarily of course the socialist countries.

DAGENS NYHETER: Earlier attempts to reform the Soviet economy—in the sixties and seventies—were unsuccessful. What reasons are there for believing that the present attempt will prove more successful?

Ryzhkov: We did of course take into account all the miscalculations and mistakes when we tackled the present restructuring. I am not predicting rapid progress, but I can say that there will be no return to the old. The reform is profound and all-embracing in character, it affects practically all areas of life. It is already firmly based in legislation. In its development it is built on economic laws and economic interests which have been given free rein for the first time in the socialist system of economic management. But in the final analysis the democratization process which is spreading throughout the country in a consistent fashion is a guarantee that this reform will not suffer the fate of previous reforms.

DAGENS NYHETER: Leading Soviet economists—including Abel Aganbegyan—are advocating a radical reform of the price system, including the abolition of a large number of the current subsidies on food, rents, and so on. What view do you take of this? What economic and social repercussions would such price reforms have?

Ryzhkov: This is primarily a fresh examination of the prices used in payments between enterprises and organizations in different branches of the national economy—industry, construction, agriculture, transport and communications. Without this review it is practically impossible to carry through a transition to economic autonomy and self-financing in a radical economic reform. In the implementation of the reform we will have a more economically based relationship between the prices of raw materials and the production processes they undergo in processing industries, and we will eliminate the widespread illusion of cheap access to raw materials. The introduction of new prices is intended to stimulate the thrifty use of raw materials, fuel, and so on.

The reform of consumer prices affects the whole population and is therefore the most acute socio-economic issue in the price reforms. As a result of the reforms we will establish a more correct relationship between the prices of various consumer goods and services. This makes it possible to increase the production of goods, improve their quality, and increase the population's incomes.

The main consideration here is that citizens' living standards should not fall. It is also necessary to raise the living standards of certain categories of workers to achieve social justice. All this will require special compensation arrangements. Therefore we will use the subsidies which are at present set aside in the budget to cover the difference between the production and consumption costs of foodstuffs. The pricing reforms will be the subject of broad democratic discussion in the country.

DAGENS NYHETER: In a speech in Khabarovsk in the summer of 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev said that there are opponents of the reform process who think that perestroika represents the undermining of the foundations of socialism itself. Which opponents or what type of opponents did he have in mind and what are their arguments? Could you also comment more generally on the opposition perestroika is meeting?

Ryzhkov: Our overall experience indicates that the Soviet people are fully aware of the need for really far-reaching changes in all areas of life, a consistent line of renewing and fully revealing the enormous advantages of socialism.

At the same time, this must not be interpreted as a total absence of differences. These differences exist and should be noted and considered.

We should not ignore the fact that an excess of centralism has created certain stereotypes in thinking, theoretical dogmas. The system of command within management paralyzed workers' initiative and led to excessive caution, reduced responsibility, and an atmosphere of indifference. Another factor working against reform is conservatism. Many people are distrustful of the new and unusual, and if they do not oppose it immediately, they adopt a wait-and-see attitude to see what comes out of it all.

Vanguardism too can harm the reorganization—that is, the striving to hurry along too quickly and achieve good end results right now, at this moment, despite the fact that this requires the creation of certain objective preconditions and, of course, time. The struggle between new and old is peculiar to such a complicated process as perestroika. As M.S. Gorbachev has said: "We simply have no other way. We must not retreat and we cannot retreat anywhere."

DAGENS NYHETER: To a large extent perestroika means a distancing from the society whose foundations (extreme centralization of the economic structure and of economic planning) were laid in the years around 1930 by Iosif Stalin. In the light of today's reforms what view do you take of Stalin's role as a builder of society, economically and socially?

Ryzhkov: First and foremost I would like to stress that the foundations of our society were laid under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, and it is developing today on these very foundations. During the period when Stalin led the country, a serious deformation took place, a deviation from Leninist principles, and this resulted in the rise of an administrative edict system in the country's party and state leadership.

The complicated and profound changes which took place in the twenties and thirties depended on both objective and subjective factors. A vital need to overcome the country's technical and economic backwardness played a

decisive role in this process. In order to achieve a high rate of economic growth, achieve the goals that had been set, and drastically increase gross national income the maximum mobilization of all material resources was attempted.

The overcentralized administration was strengthened even more during the war years and was retained even during the recovery of the postwar period.

We must not link the complex of measures which determined economic management, structure, and methods with one person, no matter how important a role he may have played. We must not ignore the distance our economy has traveled; to take the step from the wooden plow and underdeveloped industry to the conquest of nuclear power and space in a period which is short in historical terms. At the same time we must not forget the grave mistakes made during these years, deviations from the principles of socialism, and unjustified reprisals which can never be forgiven.

DAGENS NYHETER: In more general terms, do you think that the implementation of perestroika—chiefly in the political and psychological respect—presupposes a historic break with Stalinism? In more concrete terms: Can we expect an official rehabilitation, for example, of the “old Bolsheviks” who were found guilty in the Moscow trials around 1937?

Ryzhkov: We have a wise saying: Think before you act (literally: Measure seven times before you make your incision). You speak of a historic break with Stalinism. But before you carry out a surgical operation you should make an exact diagnosis. What exactly are we to break with?

It is no secret that the ideas in the West about Stalinism and our assessments of this period in the Soviet Union's history do not coincide. If you take the view that there were breaches of socialist laws or that an administrative edict system of economic management came into being, then on these two counts we have both measured and made incisions. But in the West people sometimes equate Stalinism with socialism. So I just want to reiterate one of our perestroika's key formulas: More socialism.

When we make a principled and just assessment of Stalin's personality, we take as our point of departure the consideration that you cannot equate Stalin with the whole party and the millions of ordinary people whose devotion to Leninist ideas and revolutionary ideals was not shaken even during the most difficult and most tragic periods in our history.

Many of those involved in the political trials of 1937-38 have already been rehabilitated, as is well known. They have been delivered from mendacious, falsified accusations against them, and their good names have been restored. A certain amount of time is needed for a

further full inquiry into all the circumstances surrounding the illegal reprisals in the thirties. As is well known, the party's Central Committee recently appointed a special commission to investigate all the facts pertaining to illegality and arbitrariness which occurred in the thirties and later.

I do not agree that here in Russia a whole generation has developed that does not dare to take economic initiatives. I could give many concrete examples which would refute such a view. But it is true that excessive economic tutelage by the state led to the development of a parasitical mentality in certain strata of the working population. This even turned into social passivity. For this reason we are forced to re-educate some people.

Work collectives have been given wide powers when it comes to planning production, managing economic activities, and the choice of leaders at various levels. Here great importance is attached to the workers' economic education. What we have to do is arm the broad working masses with economic knowledge, which helps them to solve questions which crop up under new economic circumstances.

DAGENS NYHETER: When will the Soviet Union allow its citizens to leave the country freely, both for short periods and permanently?

Ryzhkov: We live by our laws, you have yours. At present we are re-examining various laws and regulations, in this area too.

In connection with certain legal changes in recent months both Jews and Germans have been allowed to leave the country and on Ingvar Carlsson's 21-person list, which he brought with him on his visit here, we have only 1 case left. We really can let go all who want to leave, but with one exception, namely people who are in possession of military secrets, such as military high technology.

There are forces that want to fuel this issue of emigration. But not everyone of other nationalities in the Soviet Union wants to leave the country. They do not want to be subjected to pressures to emigrate.

There are really three categories of people whom we do not allow to leave the country. Those in possession of secret information, those who are mentally ill, and young couples who first need to help their old parents. They must do this first, then they are allowed to emigrate.

DAGENS NYHETER: In the light of the fact that there is now an agreement to get rid of medium-range missiles in Europe, is it time for the Soviet Union to launch another initiative on the question of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area?

Ryzhkov: Yes, we intend to raise the matter in our talks with the Swedish Government. We think that it is now time to make it a current issue again. But it is also important that the Nordic countries try to coordinate their views on a nuclear-free zone.

Certain military and political circles within NATO are now trying to get round the agreement on medium-range missiles. It is no secret that at the Nordic level attempts are being made in various ways to "compensate for" the loss of "Pershing" missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles by increasing the numbers of other types of nuclear arms and conventional arms in Nordic waters and airspace. Nor is it a secret that talks about this were held by U.S. representatives in a number of West European countries, including Nordic countries, as recently as a couple of weeks ago.

The Soviet leadership hopes that our partner at the Geneva talks will adhere to sober and realistic positions free from the striving to achieve one-sided advantages and will not intentionally deceive its own public opinion and world opinion.

DAGENS NYHETER: How do you assess Soviet-U.S. relations and the prospects of further disarmament after the Washington summit?

Ryzhkov: The first step toward disarmament was taken in the signing during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the abolition of two classes of nuclear arms—intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

The talks in Washington between the Soviet and U.S. leaders created good preconditions also for the solution of the question of a radical cut in strategic offensive arms. This question has a central place in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the arms race as a whole. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we advocate an agreement as soon as possible for a 50% cut in offensive strategic arms while strictly observing the ABM Treaty. Soviet-U.S. relations have become more dynamic, and confidence is growing. The agreements reached in Washington give every reason to hope for further progress.

DAGENS NYHETER: What are the prospects today for a solution to the conflicts in and around Afghanistan? When does the Soviet Union intend to withdraw its troops?

Ryzhkov: The Soviet Union is seeking to settle the Afghanistan situation through political means and fully supports the program of national reconciliation put forward by the Government of Afghanistan. The basis for such a settlement must first and foremost be an end to outside military interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, and this would lay the foundation for a withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent stationed there.

At the end of November 1987 a representative meeting of the Loya Jirgah, that is, Afghanistan's national assembly, was held in Kabul at which the country's president, Najibullah, announced a decision coordinated with the Soviet Union to implement the troop withdrawal over the course of not more than 12 months. In this connection he noted the possibility of cutting this period if further progress in national reconciliation is achieved. Even today there are no Soviet troops in 12 of Afghanistan's 29 provinces.

DAGENS NYHETER: What are the prospects for developing trading relations between the Soviet Union and Sweden? During your visit will you be discussing any concrete cooperation projects, and if so, what?

Ryzhkov: First it should be noted that the trade between the Soviet Union and Sweden has been growing throughout the postwar period. Old traditional economic ties and the geographical closeness between our countries make a large contribution to this. I think that all the preconditions exist for the strengthening of this tendency during the remaining 13 years of the 20th century and for its continuation in the 21st century.

Agreement was recently reached in Sweden, for example, on joint implementation of the Toska agro-industrial project outside Leningrad. Negotiations are taking place about certain other projects.

The possibilities of the further development of Soviet-Swedish cooperation are now very great. It is our endeavor to develop both the traditional trading exchanges and also newer forms of cooperation. As is well known, many ministries responsible for particular branches of industry and a large number of larger industrial enterprises in the Soviet Union have been given direct access to the world market. They can maintain direct business contacts with Swedish companies. Our hope is that this will contribute to improved quality and greater volume in our trading relations.

However, it should be noted that the Soviet Union expects greater initiative and enterprise from Swedish industry and commerce than we have seen in connection with the establishment of joint enterprises.

I know many Swedish businessmen personally. They are very businesslike, enterprising people who have their sights set on cooperation. Therefore, one can assume that in their attitude to joint ventures, there are psychological barriers which must be eliminated more quickly. This could possibly be linked to some extent to the fact that our legislation contained some "blank spots" that have prevented broad developments. It is understandable because the above-mentioned forms of cooperation are new for us, too.

That is why we adopted in September 1987 supplementary regulations which provide for more flexible conditions for joint enterprises. This form of cooperation could significantly increase the trade ties between our countries.

As for my upcoming visit to Sweden, its main aim is to give new impetus to the development of overall relations between our countries. Naturally, concrete trading questions, both traditional trading relations and the use of new forms of cooperation, will be touched on during the planned contacts.

DAGENS NYHETER: Sweden and the Soviet Union have been negotiating for a long time on a demarcation line in the Baltic. A common view in the West is that the present state of uncertainty is probably in the Soviet Union's interest from the viewpoint of both security and fishing and that the Soviet Union, therefore, has no need of a swift settlement of the issue with Sweden. How would you comment on such a view?

Ryzhkov: The assertion that the Soviet Union has an interest in preserving the uncertainty surrounding the drawing of a demarcation line between the Soviet Union and Sweden in the Baltic is in fact unfounded and invented with some particular intention in mind. First: If you raise the subject of security interests, you should observe that in this case it is not a question of state borders, of acquiring or, on the contrary, losing national territory. The problem is one of delimiting economic zones at sea.

Second: The assertion that uncertainty relating to this problem is in the Soviet Union's interest as far as fishing is concerned does not hold water. The depletion of fish stocks in the disputed area because of piratical fishing by third countries undoubtedly has a negative effect on the Soviet Union's Baltic fishermen and, one would think, also on the livelihood of Swedish fishermen. In other words: The Soviet Union has a strong interest in a settlement with our neighbor on the question of a demarcation line in the Baltic.

DAGENS NYHETER: In an interview with DAGENS NYHETER in May this year, the chief Soviet negotiator in the Baltic negotiations stressed that both the Soviet Union and Sweden have a basis in international law for the principles on which they base their approaches in the Baltic negotiations.

Is it your view that Sweden recognizes the basis in international law in the Soviet Union's negotiating stance?

How do you compromise in the Soviet view in negotiations in which both sides have equally strong points of departure in law?

Ryzhkov: The Soviet Union's international legal stance in the negotiations with Sweden on the delimitation of the economic zones in the Baltic is based on the principle of equitability [skaelighetsprincipen] in the UN Law of the Sea Convention. This principle means all-around and complete consideration of all factors in the area where a demarcation line is to be drawn. For the populations in the Soviet Baltic republics, the traditional fishing in this area is important, and this aspect is of significance. You cannot ignore either the Soviet Union's or Sweden's economic interests in the final drawing of a demarcation line between their economic zones in the Baltic.

Talks Held With Carlsson

LD111900 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Stockholm January 11 TASS—Talks between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, on an official visit here, and Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson were held today.

The sides examined in a favourable atmosphere the present state and prospects of developing Soviet-Swedish relations and a broad range of issues of the present-day international life.

It was stated that relations between the two countries, based on principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs were currently developing in all areas, which was largely facilitated by Carlsson's official visit to the Soviet Union in April 1986.

The sides expressed readiness for further deepening of bilateral relations.

The two heads of government reached understanding on the issue of maritime demarcation in the Baltic Sea.

Ryzhkov described profound changes in all spheres of the USSR's life and gave a detailed picture of the current stage in the development of Soviet society.

Carlsson wished success to the policy of restructuring and expressed the hope that it would promote greater understanding and trust among the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

The exchange of opinions revealed identity or proximity of the two countries' views on vital problems of world politics. It was noted that the USSR and Sweden attached special importance to issues of averting the threat of nuclear war and strengthening security.

Both sides pointed out with satisfaction that the world situation had been lately characterized by a number of positive changes.

In this connection, Carlsson highly assessed the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which paved the way for broader agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament.

He pointed to the positive interest displayed in Sweden in Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk initiatives directed at strengthening security and stability in northern Europe, developing international cooperation in studying and using resources of the north and the Arctic and in environmental protection in that region.

Ryzhkov stressed Sweden's active role within the framework of the Group of Six for peace and disarmament and the movement of the neutral and non-aligned nations. He pointed to the great contribution made by Sweden as a member of these organizations and on its own to preserving peace and opposing the arms race.

The sides declared their aspiration to facilitate the further consolidation of the United Nations and its Charter as key instruments of upholding peace. The urgent need was stressed for a political settlement of conflicts in various parts of the world in keeping with generally recognized standards of international law.

King Gives Luncheon

*LD111338 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT
11 Jan 88*

[text] Stockholm January 11 TASS—King Carl 16 Gustaf of Sweden today gave a luncheon in the royal palace for Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is staying here on an official visit.

The luncheon was attended by Ryzhkov with his wife and by officials accompanying the Soviet head of government.

The Swedish side was represented by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, and other officials.

Visits Stockholm Bank

*LD112201 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 11 Jan 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today visited Stockholm's Post and Credit Bank, which has private individuals and companies as customers. Eighty five percent of its shares belong to the state. The bank has a wide network of offices abroad, including New York, London, Paris, Bombay, Tokyo, Beijing, and Moscow. The bank provided credits for the supply of Swedish equipment for the large dairy at Lianozovo. Today's talks demonstrated the interest of the bank's management in the continued development of ties with the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Visit to FRG Previewed

*LD111701 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT
11 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

A period of cooling in Soviet-West German relations which, as is known, was caused not by the Soviet side, is being reversed. Such conclusion has been drawn in the circles of the USSR Foreign Ministry. It is noted in these circles that the cooling in relations stemmed from the fact that over a certain period of time the West German side was not taking efforts toward the development of bilateral relations, specifically in the area of apolitical dialogue.

It is noted in the Soviet diplomatic circles that the striving for the intensification of a political dialogue, for the development of relations, ties, exchanges in various areas is now shown both in the USSR and the FRG.

The visit to the Soviet Union by Federal President of the FRG Ricard von Weizsaecker last year was a milestone in Soviet-West German relations. That visit made a weighty contribution to the improvement of inter-state relations. Another remarkable event last year was the visit to Moscow by Minister-President of the Bavaria, Chairman of the Christian Social Union Franz-Josef Strauss.

All this indicates a turn to realism and constructiveness that was started in the top echelon of the FRG. This is viewed in the circles of the USSR Foreign Ministry as a gratifying phenomenon.

The new year is marked by a major political event in relations between the two countries—the visit to the FRG by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to take place in mid-January. This will signify a large step toward the intensification of a political dialogue and businesslike discussion of the entire range of Soviet-West German relations.

It should be noted that there will be remarkable events in the area of economic relations: A meeting of the joint Soviet-West German commission on economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Franz-Josef Strauss said in Moscow that a representative delegation of the Bavarian business circles will arrive in the Soviet capital in near future.

Prominent politician and public figure of the FRG, Minister-President of Baden-Wuerttemberg land, Deputy Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union Lothar Spaeth is to visit the USSR.

The prospects for relations between the USSR and the FRG are viewed in Moscow as favorable. There exist many opportunities for the improvement of relations

between the two countries, for a greater mutual confidence. In this connection the hope is expressed that the FRG Government will take the road of a vigorous and constructive participation in the solution of key questions of the consolidation of peace and security both in the European Continent and the whole world.

Kohl Remarks on West German-Soviet Relations
LD120928 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT
11 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn January 11 TASS—The past year saw remarkable, in some areas historic, progress in East-West relations, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl said at a press

conference here today. He said that in the entire post-war history the great powers have not conducted such an intensive dialogue at the summit level as at present. This is of much importance and opens good prospects for the future.

The head of the FRG Government said that much attention will be paid in the new year to the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union. The chancellor declared for the opening of a new page in these relations and for filling it with concrete contents. What is meant is an intensive dialogue at every level, including the summit level, closer cooperation, the signing of further agreements between the USSR and the FRG. The entire range of questions will be discussed during the official visit to the FRG by member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to be held next week, the chancellor said.

Political & Social

Nishanov Elected Uzbek Party First Secretary
LD121143 Moscow TASS in English 1142 GMT
12 Jan 88

[Text] Tashkent January 12 TASS—Rafik Nishanov has been elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Soviet Central Asia. The decision to this effect was adopted at a plenary meeting of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee today.

Inamzhon Usmankhodzhayev, who had held the post of first secretary, was relieved of his duties due to retirement for health reasons.

Nishanov, an ethnic Uzbek, was born in a farmer's family in 1926. He started work in a rural cooperative in 1942. After graduating from the Tashkent Teachers' Training College, he served in party and local government bodies.

Between 1970 and 1985 he was the USSR's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Sri Lanka and non-resident ambassador in the Republic of Maldives, and in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Nishanov held the post of foreign minister of Uzbekistan from 1985 to 1986. In December 1986 he was elected president of the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

City Plans To Boost Job Placement Service
PM081351 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Dec 87 p 1

[Own correspondent L. Telen report: "Such a Service Exists. Restructuring of the Economy: Labor Resources"]

[Excerpts] Vitebsk Oblast—The last labor exchange in our country was closed 57 years ago. Since then it is not an excess but a shortage of manpower which has alarmed our industry. Entire generations have started work to a babble of job offers: "Required, required..." But today the new management conditions compel us to think seriously: Are jobs required? It is not the inflation but the reduction of staff that henceforth promises plants and factories direct gains. The victims of the staff reductions are sounding the alarm more and more, there is an increasing number of lawsuits seeking reinstatements, and the atmosphere in labor disputes commissions is becoming increasingly strained...

Today Novopolotsk, the city of Belorussian petrochemical workers, is getting ready to solve the new problems without panic and fuss. A special system for recording labor resources has already been in operation for several years here. [passage omitted]

The "firm" is led by Mariya Nikolayevna Gnatyuk-Muravyeva, and she has four subordinates—an economist, two inspectors, and a secretary. Gnatyuk-Muravyeva has been at the job placement bureau from its very first months. [passage omitted]

Will the firm be able to work in the new management conditions? Will it malfunction?

...Fedor Lazarev, repair foreman at the "Polimir" Production Association, lost his job. He was not alone. In the search for the money for new wage rates and salaries "Polimir" cut over 400 worker posts and 114 engineering and technical posts. Other industrial pillars of the city are also preparing for this switch. They too, like "Polimir," cannot manage without making staff cuts. This means, whether we like it or not, hundreds of workers will be out of a job. In addition, all enterprises in the city are closely allied, and therefore the manpower which is not needed at "Polimir" will scarcely be needed at the protein and vitamin concentrate plant. Not unemployment, of course, but a clear reserve of manpower.

Fedor Lazarev and his "cutback comrades" have not yet felt this misfortune. Lazarev himself, for example, voluntarily switched to being a worker, gladly losing the extra responsibility and gaining free daytime hours for his 4-year-old son. Some were tempted by new chemical production units, and others "were saved" by the pension which arrived just in time...

The ease with which the first cuts were made may mislead even experienced personnel specialists. It will not deceive the staff of the Novopolotsk job placement service, whose work involves calculating the city's demographic future. Today they know perfectly well: The more firmly economic accountability is established, the more mercilessly it will force us to save manpower. "Our task is to ensure that workers do not become redundant"—that is what the bureau chief thinks. That is why she is convinced that her service must change. Here is the plan.

According to the Novopolotsk city soviet's plan, a center for the comprehensive management of labor resources will be created here—in some places such services are already taking their first steps. The bureau itself will become the basis of the center: Why reject a proven system? Its range of tasks will expand. The main concern will be forecasting and formulating a future action program. The job placement service will suggest what kind of enterprises the city needs; how to change the profile of technical schools; what new trades to teach the senior pupils. Another service which will operate in the center will deal with vocational guidance. Initially its specialists will merely study what trades are required today and tomorrow, how they can be learned, and in what way they are interesting. But in the future they themselves will train and retrain cadres. Finally, there is the economic planning sector. It will monitor the general demographic situation in the city. Job certification will take

place under its guidance. Its staffers will compile the balance of labor resources. In short, the idea is well thought-out, and Novopolotsk will set up this center any day now. But certain problems need to be resolved immediately so that its work is not amateurish.

Today the job placement bureau buys computer time. But the staffers carry out most operations manually. The "Agat" personal computers with which the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems generously supplied the service are no more than expensive toys. They neither save time nor produce good-quality analysis... Try using them to manage the manpower of a city of almost 100,000 people!

The main point is this. The bureau, according to its creators, operates on the basis of economic accountability. But why are all economic accountability rights given to the oblast office? The Novopolotsk service, although it more than "pays its way," does not have the right to dispose of its money. M. Gnatyuk-Muravyeva cannot even authorize business trips for staffers herself. She cannot even buy a chair for the office... The center will not resolve its tasks without cash or financial independence. The discrepancy between the declared aims and the real potential may compromise the very idea.

...Tomorrow at 0900 hours another person seeking a vacant position will appear at the door of the job placement bureau. The bureau staffers will do everything to help him find work which suits his abilities and temperament. They are ready to treble their efforts. So there is hope: Novopolotsk will be able to make sensible use of its free manpower.

Supreme Court Views Drug, Liquor Problems

PM071525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "USSR Supreme Court Plenum"]

[Text] A routine USSR Supreme Court plenum has been held under the chairmanship of V.I. Terebilov.

On the basis of a report by S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, there was a discussion of judicial practice in cases of the theft, illegal production, and distribution of narcotics and strong and toxic substances as well as other unlawful actions involving them.

The plenum noted that the spread of addiction to drugs and toxic substances among minors and young people observed recently has been causing serious concern, as have the increase in thefts of narcotics from pharmacies, depots, and medical establishments and the production of home-made narcotics.

With the aim of stepping up the campaign against drug addiction and to supplement earlier judgments the plenum instructed courts to check when examining each

case whether the investigative organs have taken all possible measures to establish the sources of the narcotics as well as the means by which they are sold.

In connection with the sharp expansion in the number of substances used by drug addicts, the courts' attention was drawn to the fact that all medical preparations, substances, plants or parts of such plants containing narcotics, and included on the USSR Ministry of Health Standing Committee on Drug Control's list of narcotic substances and medicines (recently updated in the light of the experience of the campaign against drug addiction), should be regarded as narcotic substances.

It was also ruled that narcotic substances which have no state price (for example, home-made narcotics) may also be the subject of narcotics theft and other related unlawful actions. Liability for theft applies in cases of the unlawful removal of narcotic substances not only from state or social organizations or institutions but also from citizens in possession of them either lawfully or unlawfully.

It is proposed that the unlawful marketing of narcotics and strong or toxic substances is to include not only their sale but also their transfer to others by any other means (as a gift, in exchange, payment of a debt, a loan, and so on) and that production is to include any actions resulting in the acquisition of narcotics ready for use as well as their processing and refining for the purpose of increasing the concentration of narcotics and their narcotic effect. The acquisition of narcotics is to include purchase, acquisition in exchange for other goods or items, in payment of a debt, as a loan or gift, acquisition by finding, the gathering of wild plants, and so on. Liability for the possession of narcotics applies irrespective of the time that these substances are found in the possession of the guilty party.

The buying and reselling of narcotics as well as strong or toxic substances for profit constitute a category of crimes which, as a rule, are liable to more severe penalties.

When dealing with the question of whether the theft, sale, illegal manufacture, acquisition, possession, transport, or sending of narcotics on a large or small scale for the purposes of sale has taken place, courts are instructed not only to proceed on the basis of their quantity, volume, and weight but also to take into account the characteristics of the various kinds of narcotics in terms of the degree of their effect on the human body, being guided in this matter by the recommendations of the USSR Ministry of Health Standing Committee on Drug Control.

The sowing of opium poppy, Indian, South Manchurian, South Chu, South Arkhonskaya, and South Krasnodar hemp or other prohibited plants without appropriate permission on any piece of land, including fallow land, is deemed a crime regardless of the extent of the area sown or the subsequent sprouting or growth of plants.

When passing sentence on a drug addict, the court is obliged to examine the question of prescribing compulsory treatment (so long as such treatment is not contraindicated). When sentencing a person to a punishment which does not involve loss of liberty and if requested by members of the family, the trade union or other social organization, the prosecutor, medical institution, or organ of wardship or guardianship, the court has the right at the same time to deal with the question of limiting the person's liability if the latter's actions put his family in a difficult material position.

On the basis of a report by R.K. Brize, member of the USSR Supreme Court, there was an examination of the question of shortcomings in the courts' execution of the law which provides for the confiscation of property in cases involving moonshine production.

The plenum noted that moonshine production, which has spread not only in the countryside but also in cities, is a major obstacle to the eradication of drunkenness and alcoholism. The number of people convicted for producing moonshine and other home-made alcohol increased 2.5 times in 1986 compared with 1985 and by more than 6 times compared with 1984. Nevertheless, when examining cases of moonshine production for sale, some courts unjustifiably fail to impose an additional punishment in the form of confiscation of property. Across the country as a whole, this measure of punishment was used in 1986 against only 24.7% of people convicted under articles of the law which allow for the confiscation of property and against 27.2% in the first half of 1987.

The low level of property confiscation is considerably due to the fact that the investigative organs, in breach of the law, do not restrain the property of persistent moonshiners and the courts do not respond to this flagrant violation of the law's requirements and fail to rectify the investigative shortcomings themselves.

The USSR Supreme Court plenum directed the courts' attention to the need to ensure the strict observance of the law's requirements on imposing confiscation of property as an additional form of punishment.

When passing sentence under articles of the law which make confiscation compulsory, the court may refrain from doing so only if there are exceptional circumstances and must explain the reasons for this decision.

The passing of a sentence below the minimum provided by the law or a different, more lenient form of punishment, in particular corrective labor or fines, does not preclude the confiscation of the culprit's property.

When discussing the question of the use of confiscation of property, the courts are instructed to bear in mind that the failure to discover property at the time sentence is passed does not in itself prevent that penalty being applied, because the property liable to confiscation may be discovered when the sentence is being carried out.

Money and other valuables gained from the sale of moonshine and other home-made alcohol or of alcohol production equipment may be appropriated as public revenue or, if none are discovered, the illegal proceeds may be confiscated.

When examining moonshining cases, the courts must determine whether the culprit's aim was to sell, since the definition of the crime and the possibility of applying the confiscation of property depend on the correct solution of this question.

A report was heard from Z. Dzhamashev, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Court, on the practical application by the republic's courts of criminal law punishment in the form of deprivation of liberty. It is noted that during 1986-1987, the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Court took measures to ensure the courts' stricter observance of the law's requirements on the individualization of punishment and the eradication of instances of the unjustified application of loss of liberty to people who committed less dangerous crimes and who can be reformed without being isolated from society.

When sentences are passed, however, full use is still not being made of the possibility of probation or suspended sentences and loss of liberty is applied unjustifiably to minors, people with large families, invalids, and people who have committed crimes of negligence.

On the other hand, some courts have passed unduly lenient sentences on people who have committed serious crimes as well on previous offenders who stubbornly refuse to lead an honest working life.

The USSR Supreme Court plenum drew the Kirghiz SSR Supreme court's attention to the need to intensify the supervision of the unswerving observance by courts of first instance, primarily by rayon and city people's courts, of the law's requirements on a strictly individual approach to the definition of the type and scale of punishment.

The plenum also heard a report from Major General of Justice V.G. Reznichenko, chairman of the Transbaykal Military District military tribunal, on progress in fulfilling the USSR Supreme Court's resolution dated 5 December 1986 "On the Reinforcement of the Rule of Law in the Exercise of Justice."

In connection with the introduction of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) on 1 January 1988 and on the basis of the report delivered by S.B. Romazin, member of the USSR Supreme Court, there was an examination of the question of amendments to the USSR Supreme Court plenum resolution of 21 July 1985 "On the Practice of the Courts' Application of the Law in Cases of Misrepresentation and Other Distortions of Accounts on the Fulfillment of Plans."

The plenum examined objections by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Prosecutor General on legal cases.

A.M. Rekunkov, USSR Prosecutor General, and B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, took part in the plenum's work.

Moldavian Komsomol Plenum Reported
PM111249 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 10 Jan 88 p 1

[Report by "our correspondent" A. Khantsevich: "A Delicate Topic? Participants of Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee Plenum Discussed Questions of Young People's International and Patriotic Education"; boldface passage as published]

[Excerpts] Kishinev—I am holding a booklet which has just been published containing the materials of the 20th congress of the republic's Komsomol—it was handed to the plenum participants when they registered. A little over 10 months have elapsed since the congress.

The pages, smelling of printer's ink, reminded me above all of the actual atmosphere of the congress—the delegates' lively, committed conversation, especially on the second day when "free microphones" appeared in the auditorium. It was only a pity that not all those who wanted to make use of them were able to do so at the time.

Here, I thought, is a wonderful opportunity to continue the interrupted debate. The plenum's highly topical agenda was about young people's international and patriotic education. Preparation was done in advance—every issue of the republican youth newspapers reminded them of this. The report delivered at the plenum by Central Committee First Secretary Ilya Buzhenitsa was thorough and full of the most varied information and calculations. But after that...

Well, no, after that everything was also very respectable and the plenum took place "to a high standard," as they used to say. The previously announced speakers mounted the rostrum, holding their beloved sheets of paper with their prepared text. They invariably emphasized the special importance of "the problems which are being discussed today" and mentioned recent events in Kazakhstan and the Baltic republics. They expressed concern that "similar manifestations" have also taken place in Moldavia. Almost every speaker considered it his duty to castigate the press: Journalists are writing little and badly, they said, about questions of patriotic and international education. [passage omitted]

Basically, the plenum participants merely earnestly repeated the main provisions of the report and illustrated them with examples. As Vasilii Botnar, editor of the newspaper TINERIMYA MOLDOVEY, rightly noted, this time there were no troublemakers.

It would be simplest of all to accuse the plenum organizers of caution, of playing safe, of holding the plenum in a traditional way, of avoiding the risk of, for instance, putting those "free microphones" in the auditorium. But is that the only trouble? Hardly, I think.

"An agonizingly delicate topic"—that was the phrase I heard in the break.

Yes, problems of national relations have been delicate ones for us for many years. To be more precise, they were delicately passed over in silence. They simply did not exist, according to the official story. Incidentally, this is the first time in the past 15 years that a plenum of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee has been held with this agenda.

Suddenly it emerges that there is a problem, and a serious one, and that no one is any longer forbidding us to speak of it aloud. Moreover, it can no longer be kept quiet. We must frankly admit that Moldavia, in addition to representatives of the indigenous nationality, is inhabited by tens of thousands of Bulgarians, Gagauzi, Germans, and Gypsies, and that they are a long way from living in a cohesive and friendly family, as seemed to many people to be the case only yesterday; that nationalism, local favoritism, egotism, and parasitism are not relapses into the "accursed past" which were overcome long ago but real present-day manifestations.

"One reason for the vitality of nationalist views and sentiments alien to our way of life is the feeble theoretical training and inadequate competence of many Komsomol workers and activists." That conclusion is taken from the report. It is not hard to back it up with facts. I will not echo the speaker; I will use my own observation. The far-fetched thesis of some "Russification" of the Moldavian language was suddenly to be heard in one of the speeches at the plenum. None of the participants who spoke afterward even tried to refute this opinion. Only V. Botnar, who was the last to speak, explained that it was something else which should have been discussed: how many young men and women have no knowledge of either language.

Were they treating the subject delicately? I think it was simply that no one noticed this extraordinary occurrence. So I have no fear of being wrong when I say that many Komsomol leaders are "at sea" in the theory and practice of the CPSU's nationalities policy.

Yet lack of information and incompetence invariably give rise to timidity in action and often to total inaction.

In the first days of September I traveled to the village of Baratik, Ryshkanskiy Rayon, to investigate an extraordinary incident. A scuffle between local youths including, incidentally, internationalist servicemen, and students who had come to bring in the harvest ended in a wild, senseless bloody battle in broad daylight. (The incident was far from isolated; the report mentioned similar "fun

and games" this fall in other rayons). There was a surprising unanimity in the way local leaders and militia workers asserted that the circumstances of the fight were extremely obscure but "it was not our boys" who were to blame...

Then I talked again with Komsomol Raykom First Secretary Ivan Party, who had just boldly reported from the rostrum on "the work which has been done." Some 4 months have elapsed, the investigation has ended, but he was unable to give the reasons for what happened or to name the culprits.

What is the origin of this impotence? Most probably it comes from that lack of confidence, from the fear of making a mistake. Let those people whose job it is engage in complex problems, they say. But can we thus dissociate ourselves from many questions of vital importance to young people!

For instance, take the ecological situation in Moldavia—it is extremely alarming. Somehow I had no doubts that it would be discussed at the plenum. Is it possible to call a patriot a man who is unconcerned for the misfortunes of his native land? And such concern—not feigned but real concern—was heard. Former internationalist servicemen Anatoliy Pataki asked the auditorium: "Why is it young enthusiasts from Ternopol and Odessa who are engaged in saving the Dnestr, which is in a critical state, and are organizing annual expeditions along the river and arousing public opinion? And why is the river's fate failing to move a single one of the Komsomol raykoms near the Dnestr?"

Did his comrades listen? I am not sure. At least Anatoliy's proposal to regard the saving of the Dnestr as a specific concern of the republican Komsomol organization generated no particular enthusiasm in the auditorium.

Nor were the plenum participants interested in another specific matter put forward by Grigoriy Sonik—creating restoration detachments made up of students and members of the Youth Housing Combine. Yet the destruction of architectural monuments in Kishinev, which is not that rich in them, has become an unmitigated disaster.

So to all appearances it is too early to draw a line under the talk which has been initiated. But it must be continued not simply with words but also with practical daily actions.

S.K. Grossu, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum and delivered a speech.

New Economic Terms Seen Improving Medical Care
PM081207 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by R. Anufriyev, first deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Health Administration, and Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Shvyrkov, senior scientist at the Moscow Institute of Economic Problems in Comprehensive National Economic Development, under general rubric "Problems and Views": "Health Service: Economic Accountability at the Polyclinic"]

[Text] Let us clarify right away that this has nothing to do with paid medical services. It is a question of an economic mechanism providing for a more rational use of state means allocated from the budget and other sources of finance for health care needs.

At present, economic methods are not applied in health care. This is the main source of complaints which patients are leveling at the medical profession: repeated treatments on the basis of one and the same diagnosis, unjustified hospitalization, long and ineffective treatment in hospital, and much else.

How will budget economic accountability [byudzhethnyy khozraschet] change this? It will make it possible to organize the treatment process in such way that the patient's state of health and the effectiveness of his treatment will have a direct bearing on the material well-being of the doctor and the medical establishment as a whole. While at present the wages of section therapists and pediatricians depend on the length of their service and usually do not exceed R200, in the new conditions they will be linked with the quality of treatment and could rise to double that figure.

To achieve this, work methods will have to change, of course. Let us assume that a patient with an acute respiratory problem comes to the doctor. The doctor will have a vested interest not only in making him better quickly but also in preventing relapses. Why? Because the budget allocations to the clinic are based on population figures. Consequently, not every relapse can be paid for from the budget, and the bill for above-norm substandard treatments will have to be footed by the doctor.

Or take a more complicated case: A diagnosis calls for hospitalization, so the polyclinic sends the patient to an inpatient establishment and pays for his stay there from its own means. The cost of the treatment is worked out on the basis of clinical statistical groups (IZVESTIYA wrote about this topic in the article "Economics and Medicine" in its 1987 issue No 198). The payments from the polyclinic are the main source of the hospital staff's wages. Consequently they will have a vested interest in a rapid and effective cure of the patient. A relapse and repeated hospitalization no longer merely affect the staff's conscience but also their financial position, since there will be no additional payment from the polyclinic

and this will automatically affect the wage fund. Consequently, it will be economically disadvantageous for the hospital to either discharge a patient ahead of time or to keep him in longer than specified. If the polyclinic is to blame for readmission to the hospital (wrong diagnosis, "neglected" case), then it is the polyclinic that will have to pay.

These are the main aspects, to so speak, of the work of medical establishments under the new conditions. In order to put everything on a practical footing, major organizational changes will be necessary. It is a question of creating various types of associations—territorial, multiprofile, and specialized—which will make it possible to concentrate budget means in the same hands and to redistribute them among medical establishments according to need, and also to increase the rate of expenditure per inhabitant (so far only in Moscow) from R67 to R81 per annum.

In order to explain what is being proposed we will illustrate it with concrete examples. In Moscow's Brezhnevskiy Rayon, for instance, there are currently 26 medical establishments including 9 polyclinics for adults, 6 for children, 1 stomatology and 2 gynecology consultation establishments, 1 hospital, and 1 maternity home. They will form the basis of one territorial association and one multiprofile association. In Kirovskiy Rayon, where there are considerably more medical establishments, three such associations will be formed.

The territorial association will comprise the adult and child polyclinics, the gynecology consultation establishment, the health center, and so forth. The multiprofile association will encompass various types of inpatient establishments, and the specialized association will be made up of diagnostic centers and institute clinics. In Moscow it is planned to set up citywide specialized narcological and oncological associations. The associations will not only be able to maneuver funds in case of need but also to save money by simplifying the management structure of health care. For instance, it will be possible to have just one bookkeeping department at association level rather than at every polyclinic or laboratory as is the case now.

Naturally the question arises: So you think you have sorted everything out and worked out the expenditure. But what happens if there is an epidemic? Who will pay for the treatment of people visiting the district? Furthermore, all kind of things can happen. Well, we believe that we have taken most of the options into account. A special reserve fund will be set up. When budget economic accountability is introduced everywhere, it will be possible to conduct the transactions between associations for the treatment of "outsiders" on the basis of integrated all-union tariffs—meanwhile they will be paid out of the aforementioned reserve fund.

Of late the question has frequently been raised of additional sources to finance health care. We also have several methods of "earning" money in mind. It would be possible, for instance, to introduce paid medical services at sports and other spectator venues, and to exact full or partial payment for narcological hospital services. Payment for the services of scientific research institutes and the hire of specialized equipment could be introduced (not only as regards the population but also enterprises and organizations), economic contracts could be drawn up for regular preventive checkups, and much else.

All the funds—both budget and additional funds—should be handled by the associations, and any surplus should not be taken away at the end of the year but paid, in accordance with the normatives, into development or material incentives funds, and so forth.

Expenditure would, of course, have to be monitored under budget economic accountability. This function could be carried out by the city trade union committee, for instance.

The first stage of the experiment has begun with preparatory work in Moscow. It is not only necessary to change the financing system but also to draw up a register of the city population and assign each resident to one of the outpatient polyclinic establishments, to work out the actual sickness rate, and to determine the cost of medical services.

We are pinning great hopes on this experiment because we believe that it will make it possible to substantially improve the quality of medical services.

Turkmen Party Acknowledges Maternity Care Gaps
PM111033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88
Second Edition p 3

[Article by S. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, under the general heading "Science Department Mail": "Following Criticism. 'An Iceberg in the Desert'"]

[Text] The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee reports that the article "An Iceberg in the Desert," published on 31 August last year, was examined on 4 December 1987 at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The criticisms made in the article were acknowledged as correct.

It was noted that the Turkmen Communist Party obkoms (Secretaries Comrades V.S. Chertishchev, Ye.T. Mitrin, Ch. Gedzhenov, O. Khodzhaev, and V.N. Rebrik) had failed to carry out proper leadership and supervision of soviet and economic bodies' work and had relaxed their demands on the leaders of medical establishments, which had led to the unsatisfactory state of maternity and child care in the republic.

The bureau charged party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, oblistpolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms, and the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Health with the task of giving a sharp, principled assessment of every instance of child mortality, seeing it as a consequence of serious omissions in work by health bodies and by the leaders of soviet and economic bodies. Decisive measures are to be adopted to strengthen the composition of medical cadres, whose job is to provide proper health care for mothers and children and to increase responsibility for treatment and prevention.

The attention of Comrade M. Mollayeva, secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Ye. Ovyakuliyev, chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, and Comrade R.A. Bazarova, deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, was drawn to the poor supervision and inadequate organizational work on the fulfillment of Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers resolutions on questions of maternity and child health care. They were warned of their personal responsibility for any failure to adopt vigorous measures to rectify the situation and resolutely overcome negative trends in children's health care and the protection of children's lives.

The Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan were instructed to provide in the plans for economic and social development in 1988-1990 for the capital repair and reconstruction of Turkmen SSR Health Ministry medical establishments by republic contract organizations irrespective of departmental jurisdiction.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau demanded that party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, the Turkmen Council of Trade Unions, the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee, the republic Women's Council, the editorial boards of republic newspapers and journals, the Turkmen SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Turkmen SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and the republic "Znaniye" society ensure the radical restructuring of work to propagandize a healthy way of life.

The fact that the article "An Iceberg in the Desert" had been examined at sessions of all Turkmen Communist Party obkom bureaus and the Turkmen SSR Health Ministry collegium, measures had been determined to eliminate the shortcomings, and a number of culprits had been brought to book was taken into consideration.

PRAVDA Airs Idea of Payment for Motherhood

PM11523 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 January 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Letters From Mothers" a

1,200-word article by Larisa Mikhaylova reviewing the varied letters that PRAVDA receives from mothers. She cites numerous examples of bad manners, surliness, and offhand service shown toward mothers and the way they are treated as "second-class" citizens for "only bringing up children." In response, she wonders whether it is not time for motherhood, "like any other work that society needs, to be remunerated" with "mothers' pensions" or "corresponding allowances" being instead of the R4 a month for a fourth child currently available—a figure set "many years ago." Mikhaylova notes that certain kolkhozes in the Baltic states pay women on maternity leave R50-70 in addition to their state allowance and will also pay for housing repairs and kindergarten places if a family has more than three children. Mikhaylova concludes that more care should be taken of "those who are bringing up our future poets and heroes."

Election System on Way to Perfection

LD111319 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT
11 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—By TASS News Analyst Boris Prokhorov:

Tomorrow it will be 50 years since the opening of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the first convocation. It was elected in keeping with the election system which was new at that time. It was a step forward in ensuring more democracy in the country's political life. At that time all citizens of the country were granted the right to elect and be elected (of which representatives of the former exploiter classes were previously deprived). The elections to the supreme organs of state power in the USSR and the Union Republics were direct, and not multi-stage as before.

The electoral system adopted half a century ago is, certainly, in need of perfection. Here is an example: The system in effect does not limit the number of candidates running in the elections in an electoral district. Yet the established practice is to put only one candidate into the ballot paper. Now in the period of perestroika, which includes as a most important component part, more democracy in public life, the question of improving the election practices has also cropped up. Preparations for it have been started.

Last summer when elections were held to the local soviets of people's deputies, an experiment was held: In 162 districts of the country the elections to the soviets were organized according to a system providing for the nomination of more than one candidate to run for each seat. The procedure of nomination and discussion of the nominees has become more democratic. The results of the experiment are being studied now.

In the conditions of openness (glasnost) the question of the possible way to perfect the electoral system is being broadly discussed in this country. Hundreds of views,

remarks and proposals have been expressed in the press. In the new year they are to be generalized at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Afanasyev, Popov Discuss Restructuring Progress

PM121043 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA on 5 January 1988 carries on page 3 a feature entitled "Debate Between a Pessimist and an Optimist" comprising an article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Gavriil Popov headlined "Conservatives and Vanguardists" and an article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Yu. Afanasyev headlined "Not All the Archives Are Yet Open."

The Popov article (in which boldface words in the original are as published) reads in full:

"As a specialist in economic management I would like to touch solely on the problems of restructuring the economic mechanism. After all, this topic now concerns many people.

"First the pessimistic prognosis. Not because I am a gloomy person. I do not think that sunny optimism is in the spirit of the time.... I see one possible scenario as this: The administrative system will avoid restructuring, as has often happened in the past, and turn all the measures into a routine overhaul of the system. This scenario can stem only from the actions of conservative forces: either independently or under pressure from the vanguardists.

"In my opinion, conservative forces will not act independently in 1988. First, the results of their activity and the fruits of the precrisis situation are still fresh. Even those responsible can easily be found. The conservatives can become more active only when it is possible to blame restructuring for the mess actually caused by the slowdown but brought to light by restructuring. Second, there is criticism of the errors and crimes of the past and a more realistic assessment of both our achievements and the price that was paid for them. It is, of course, a thankless task to attempt to defend an obsolete system when it is illuminated by glasnost... What is more, the conservatives have only now begun to give serious thought to—I cannot say feel fear at—the course of events. They previously thought that the storm would blow over and the threat would pass.

"Moreover, the conservatives have no leaders. They are sometimes represented by people holding very high posts in the social hierarchy. But in the period of the slowdown high posts usually went to mediocrities. The conservatives still have to find leaders, and, given their tendency to stick to all the standard rules of promotion, this will not be an easy task.

"Of course, impatient vanguardists could provoke the conservatives. Ignoring the circumstances, in 1988 they could even launch a rash, unprepared, and consequently doomed attack, shouting 'Charge!'

"It is best to take a realistic view of things. The new economic mechanism will be introduced. But how and in what form?

"All economic levers (payments, funds, and so forth) are calculated on the basis of the 5-year plan targets. It is not the economic levers that bring reserves to light and affect the plan but quite the reverse: Normatives are based on the plan.

"Another feature of the present version of restructuring is that the central economic departments and ministries are its main forces. They are still responsible for the average results—for the sector and for the republic. At the same time they have been unsettled by the prematurely begun process of reductions in their staff.

"I can predict the following consequences from these features of the 1988 version of restructuring:

"1. Restructuring 'from above,' when the 'leading' role is played by economic departments, is burdened by efforts to retain all the old control figures in the guise of the state order. Self-financing becomes a fiction as a result: Nothing can be bought from anyone with resources from the development fund, as everyone's entire capacity is taken up by the state order. This also means that self-management will largely be a fiction. If the wages fund normative and the size of other benefits continue to be established by the ministry, the director elected will have to be to the liking of the ministry.

"2. The incentives for full economic accountability in this version are totally limited by what was in the plan. But on the other hand sanctions will begin to fully operate. This means that full economic accountability is limited by the 'plan' origin of the normatives; by the desire of those 'at the top' to achieve a satisfactory average result by hobbling the best and keeping the worst afloat; and also by the existence of an objective limit to the sanctions which can be imposed on enterprises without causing an explosion.

"3. Although the question of fulfilling the 5-year plan has been made the main issue and everything is geared to this task, there is no certainty that the plan will be fulfilled, despite the fact that the current 5-year plan is pitched below the level required by the general plan through the year 2000.

"4. The central task is to begin the new 5-year plan with a new economic mechanism. The solution of this task is also doubtful. After all, the new 5-year plan will require a radically restructured mechanism, whereas we have devoted all our efforts to introducing a version in which economic levers are based on an administrative plan. Consequently, there are real fears that at the end of the 5-year period we will have nothing apart from this mechanism.

"What do the people gain from the fulfillment of a plan where demand is 'satisfied' by millions of pairs of shoes without considering whether anyone wears these shoes or not? And is it possible to 'meet demand' with tonnes of picked potatoes without considering what proportion of this harvest actually reaches the table? In short, it is a matter of an ordinary administrative plan. If people are so insistent about the need to fulfill it, the reason is that this is in the interests of those who compiled it.

"I can also predict who will benefit from this version of restructuring. The economic apparatus first and foremost. There is an opportunity to shift onto enterprises the blame for any failure to meet the substandard, unbalanced plan handed down to them. If the plan is not met, it will be able to blame restructuring, while coyly failing to mention that restructuring is bound hand and foot by this plan. If the plan is fulfilled, it will be possible to consolidate the existing position. All these very real dangers must be perceived: Realism and analysis of every step taken along the path of restructuring will give us strength and confidence that the changes are irreversible.

"What are the grounds for optimism?

"Like it or not, the transition to full economic accountability and state acceptance will force labor collectives to mobilize, think about costs and results, to figure up. There is no doubt that many other reserves will come into play. The economically accountable organizations and all higher organs will begin a school of economic management. There they will learn lessons which, without this school, would have seemed purely speculative. I said at the CPSU Central Committee conference before the June plenum—and PRAVDA printed my remarks—that the state order must be officially limited by a firm maximum percentage. Many felt that this had little relevance. But the very first practical steps showed that this is one of the central issues. Ideas for a different approach to restructuring, an alternative to that adopted at present, can only crystallize in this school of life. Consequently, I consider the main importance of 1988 to be that its experience will make it possible to put forward a new version of restructuring.

"A few words on the optimum version. It is a futile exercise at present to write about it as a version. It cannot yet be considered such. It essentially does not exist.

"I could express my thoughts on it, but this would go beyond the limits of a prognosis.

"The question of different versions of restructuring is linked to the answer to another question: How, with whom, over what period of time, and at whose expense will the braking mechanism into which the Administrative System evolved be dismantled? The crux of the new version is that the reform of the management mechanism must be radical not only in its aims and its substance but also in its methods of implementation.

"But if we are to take a generally optimistic view of things, by the end of 1988 a notion of a revolutionary-democratic mechanism of radical restructuring will have been formulated and a minority rallying around these concepts will have emerged from the majority that is now dominant. The normal scenario of development will be linked with the current scheme, a moderate improvement in the economic situation, and an increasing awareness of the fact that only short-lived advantages can be gained through the efforts of the central apparatus: Advantages which will mainly benefit this apparatus and which are essentially rather debatable."

The Afanasyev article reads in full:

"The current debate between pessimists and optimists is primarily a debate about the future. Sometimes you are forced to debate with yourself.

"Last year saw the conclusion of the first stage in the restructuring process, during which the present state of our society was defined and the main areas of its development in the immediate future mapped out. As far as the pessimist is concerned, sad to say at this very important stage we did not achieve a breakthrough in the formation of real historical awareness and failed to live up to all the expectations of our audience. It is true that some historians spoke out quite decisively against silence. But this was usually done in general terms and so verbosely that sometimes there was not enough strength or newspaper space left to give the public any specific details of what was being hushed up. As a result, if one considers the specific historical aspect of the matter, we have made little progress with regard to scientific knowledge and comprehension and, on this basis, the surmounting of the sociopolitical phenomenon sometimes known as Stalinism (perhaps because of the want of any better definition at present).

"Moreover, new obstacles have begun to arise in the way of shaping our society's historical awareness and it has become clear that in this respect we are not all on the same side. Last year the means employed to maintain in social practice and in people's minds realities of the past which have already been compromised but are by no means forgotten became more varied and sophisticated. Some assured readers that all our archives are now open and the only problem is that they are little used by researchers. Others, as, for example, in the case of the third edition of the encyclopedia 'The Great October Socialist Revolution,' brushed up the trusty method of 'half truth.' Others, in the film 'More Light,' for example, tried to build an eclectic image of the past in people's minds on the basis of 'on the one hand, but on the other.' On the one hand massive crimes, on the other great achievements and daily joys. Our glorious past should not be blackened in any way. Others are ready to sacrifice even Stalin himself, are ready to denounce him as a paranoid, in short, do anything to answer the question 'Who is guilty' and not the question 'Why?'

"Now a few words about optimism. To more accurately express the feeling which you experience in this connection it is best to add the epithet "sober" to the word optimism. Why? I hope that is clear from what I have said so far. The grounds for optimism are our awareness of the depth of the crisis experienced by our country and confidence that there is no alternative to the new course. However, this course can only be firmly followed on the indispensable condition that we have a comprehensive, complete picture of our past. This is not the case at present and so historians have broad scope and limitless opportunities to apply their probing minds."

Two New Rayons Added to Expanding Kiev
AU111359 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian
6 Jan 88 p 1

[Report by RADYANSKA UKRAINA correspondent L. Yanyuk: "New Rayons in Kiev"]

[Text] By decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium, two new rayons, Vatutinskiy and Kharkovskiy, have been created in the republic's capital city.

The new administrative division will make it possible to mend some of the disproportions which emerged in Kiev as a result of the spontaneous development of the city, and the intensive growth of large residential districts at its outskirts.

Indeed, the old, central rayons of the city have a population of 150,000-200,000 each, while those which have appeared in the last 20-25 years, 300,000-400,000. Such inequality hampers the harmonious development of the social sphere and industry, and complicates administration.

With the establishment of the new administrative units, the traditional borders of the old rayons—Podolskiy, Pecherskiy, Moskovskiy, Darnitskiy, and Minskiy—will change somewhat.

The center of Vatutinskiy Rayon, which will have a population of 200,000, will be located in Vugrovshchina-Troyeshchina district, and that of Kharkovskiy Rayon, in Kharkovskiy and in the adjacent left-bank districts; will have a population of nearly 150,000.

After 6 weeks, organizational sessions of the soviets of people's deputies will be held to elect governing bodies.

More on Remains Found in Darnitsa Forest
AU111410 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian
6 Jan 88 p 3

["RATAU Announcement"; figures as published]

[Text] As is known, after the liberation of the City of Kiev by the Soviet Army, the Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German Fascist Occupiers had established that in the

occupation period the Germans killed in Darnitsa Forest 68,000 Soviet citizens, inmates of the concentration camps which were located on the territory of Darnitsa.

A special government commission has established that the occupiers killed in a cruel way 6,000 Soviet citizens—prisoners of war, women, old and disabled people.

The remains of the victims found have been buried in a mass grave near where they were killed. A memorial gravestone will be erected there.

Economic

Slyunkov on Bolstering Economic Education
PM081607 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 1, Jan 88 (signed to press 28 Dec 87) pp
2, 10

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Conference at CPSU Central Committee": "Bringing Universal Economic Education Up to the Level of the Tasks Set by the Party"]

[Text] A conference was held at the CPSU Central Committee 18 December to discuss the tasks of ministries and departments in improving the organization of universal economic education and restructuring mass economic studies.

Participating in the conference were chiefs and deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments, deputy ministers and deputy chairmen of USSR and RSFSR state committees in charge of questions of economic production training of cadres, senior officials of the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, and sectoral trade union central committees, leaders of mass news and propaganda media, the chiefs of the All-Union House of Political Education and of republic houses of political education, secretaries of ministry and department party committees, and directors of a number of Moscow enterprises.

N.N. Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, delivered the report.

After noting the changes taking place in the country's economy, he emphasized the special significance of completing the preparations for the entry into force of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the switch to the new mechanism of management and administration. The labor collectives of the majority of enterprises in industry, construction, the agro-industrial complex, and transport, all of trade, and many scientific organizations will be working under conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing in 1988. It is necessary to make the maximum effort and create all the necessary preconditions for their persistent and efficient work.

The radical reform of economic management cannot be carried out without cardinally raising the standard of economic work in the national economy, enhancing the competence and professionalism of cadres, and changing their mentality and thinking. Today every working person must master the fundamentals of economics, have perfect knowledge of their assigned task, and ensure high labor and production efficiency in practice.

The transition which has begun from primarily administrative edict methods of management to primarily economic methods of management has exposed great shortcomings in the working people's economic training, shown the inability of many leaders and specialists to think in economic terms, and revealed that they lack not only the appropriate skills but also a taste for these questions.

All this is a consequence of poor economic education and enlightenment of young people in schools and vocational and technical schools, the manifestly inadequate general economic education of students, and the inefficient operation of many forms of raising cadres' qualifications and retraining them. The old economic mechanism itself, the former methods of leadership, the basically extensive path of economic development, and the established stereotypes and conservatism of economic science have not encouraged the development of new thinking.

This situation is now becoming intolerable and simply inadmissible. The party has drawn up a package of measures to radically improve the economic training of cadres. The large-scale task has been set of restructuring economic studies in accordance with the demands of the radical economic reform and developing universal economic education in the country.

Taking into account the great significance, scale, and profundity of the upcoming changes, the Central Committee Politburo has twice examined this question. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Restructuring the System of Working People's Political and Economic Studies" was adopted.

The report revealed the fundamental novelty of the points contained in that document and emphasized the increased responsibility of ministries, departments, economic leaders, and trade union organs for the state of economic production studies and for enhancing their quality and efficiency.

The organization of working people's economic training at enterprises, associations, and establishments is changing radically. It is being based on the combination of mass economic studies with vocational studies and their inclusion in the state system for raising cadres' qualifications and retraining them. In this way economic

knowledge, which used to be acquired chiefly on a voluntary, optional basis, is becoming an inalienable and essential element of the training and retraining of workers in all specialities.

The rational combination of studies in specialized educational institutions and new mass forms of economic production education is creating good conditions for the switch from periodical to continuous training. This means all workers must now constantly update and supplement their economic, scientific, and technical knowledge and enhance their professional skill.

Here it is necessary to be clearly aware of the scale of the upcoming work. The system of mass economic education that operated until now embraced 36-38 million working people annually. In the current academic year approximately 30 million workers and kolkhoz members and approximately 8 million specialists and leaders are studying within it. But the old forms of instruction, which played a positive role in their time, can no longer satisfy us today, particularly regarding the contents and effectiveness of the lessons.

Quite different, more specific goals have been defined for the new system of economic production training. As a constituent part of the system of Marxist-Leninist education, mass economic studies used to be dominated, all the same, by lecturing and by propaganda and explanation of party congress and plenum decisions and party and government resolutions.

Now, the CPSU Central Committee resolution states, the purpose of economic studies is to shape modern economic thinking, foster socialist enterprise and businesslike efficiency and the sense of being a thrifty steward of public property, enhance the competence of workers, and arm them with methods of analysis, the skills of production management, and the ability to work creatively, efficiently, and at full stretch. This means studies are becoming a very important element in the entire economic life of labor collectives and an indissoluble constituent part of their socioeconomic development plans, particularly at the time of preparing for the transfer to the new conditions of economic management, at the time of mastering the new management methods in an atmosphere of democracy and broad glasnost.

Hence the changing role and functions of economic and trade union organs and the broadening of their rights in resolving all questions in this sector of work with cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee has entrusted them with all work on planning and organizing economic production studies and enhancing their quality and effectiveness. It is necessary, first, to create the proper conditions for studies and provide everything necessary. Second, proceeding from the tasks of developing sectors and from the special features in the functioning of labor collectives, it is necessary to determine the most rational structure and time of instruction, the composition and

number of students, the overall duration of studies, and the procedure for summing up results and assessing the working people's professional and economic knowledge. Third, it is necessary to increase cadres' responsibility everywhere for constantly improving their economic training and to ensure a close connection between the raising of workers' skill categories and ratings, official transfers, and earnings and the quality of their knowledge and the efficiency of its practical application.

Many economic and trade union organs are still resolving these tasks poorly, and a majority of ministries and departments have confined their activity chiefly to issuing orders and other documents and have not developed specific organizational work at enterprises and associations. Moreover, old approaches characterize many of the documents adopted. Their provisions are quite frequently of a general nature and repeat adopted resolutions almost verbatim without detailed elaboration of ways and methods of resolving current tasks, specific measures, or the particular quantitative and qualitative parameters to be attained in restructuring studies. This applies, in particular, to the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, the USSR and RSFSR Ministries of the Construction Materials Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building.

These and also a number of other ministries—for example, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and the Ministry of the Defense Industry—and the corresponding sectoral trade union central committees are still operating in an uncoordinated manner and adopting autonomous decisions on the very same questions. It would be far more useful to jointly elaborate specific measures to restructure studies and implement universal education, to approve them at the collegium, and to ensure such an approach to the matter in all lower economic and trade union organs, associations, and enterprises.

Individual ministries, departments, and trade union committees are being inadmissibly slow to join in the work on radically improving cadres' economic training. Some of them began elaborating specific measures only after the CPSU Central Committee sectoral departments began holding them responsible for this. Thus the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, and the Ministry of the Gas Industry were unable to prepare and approve measures for 2 and 1/2 months.

The ministries and sectoral trade union central committees have hardly gotten through to the majority of labor collectives, particularly teams and links. In many oblasts, cities, and rayons and at enterprises and establishments houses and rooms of political education remain, as before, the chief organizers of economic studies. Study of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise

and of questions of economic accountability and self-financing by workers and engineering and technical personnel has very frequently been confined to a few lessons giving an overview.

This state of affairs has occurred, in particular, at a number of enterprises in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kuybyshev Oblast, and a number of other RSFSR oblasts. The majority of schools and seminars operate formally, in isolation from production problems, the collectives' economic life, and the students' vocational studies. Teachers and propagandists do not, as a rule, have sectoral materials, normative documents, or current information and do not know the work experience of progressive collectives or specific ways to resolve topical problems.

Even at Moscow enterprises situated quite close to ministries and departments the majority of the lessons held in August and September proceeded formally. Many ministries have not given proper support to the Moscow party Gorkom's initiative on implementing universal education.

The report cited specific examples of the bad organization and low effectiveness of economic studies at a number of Kirghiz enterprises, the Tiraspol Meat Combine, the "Kazanrezinotekhnika" and "Kazanbytkhim" Production Associations, Kuybyshev's "Prodmarsh" Plant, and Yaroslavl light and textile industry enterprises.

The poor economic training of leaders of basic links, primarily team leaders, foremen, and shop chiefs, as well as engineering and technical personnel, is particularly noteworthy. The majority of them have a very poor understanding or no understanding at all of concepts such as "economic accountability," "self-financing," "self-capitalization," or "economically accountable income."

Many enterprise leaders and labor collectives are still insufficiently aware of their functions, rights, and duties in drawing up plans, substantiating normatives, funding work, obtaining material and technical supplies, organizing production management, and ensuring social development.

Of course, this is not how things stand everywhere. There are enterprises and associations where economic leaders together with the party and trade union committees understand the whole importance and necessity of universal economic education and have actively joined in preparing and implementing it. In particular, a positive assessment was made of the organization of cadre economic studies at the Moscow Carburetor Plant, the Kama Truck Plant, Sverdlovsk's Kalinin Machine Building Plant, and a number of other enterprises. But there is little such experience. It is being generalized and analyzed badly and disseminated still worse.

Ministries and sectoral trade union central committees are entrusted with analyzing in-depth the work done and with taking the necessary measures in the very near future to improve the state of affairs in each sector. It is necessary, above all, to develop universal economic education in labor collectives. Here it is important to ensure a differentiated approach to the contents and methods of conducting lessons with different categories of working people.

After formulating the aims of universal economic education for leading employees, workers, kolkhoz members, students, and pupils, the speaker emphasized that its quality will depend to a decisive degree on the standard of training of teachers and propagandists. Only highly qualified specialists who know the specific economy well and have mastered modern methods of instruction will be able to raise an interest in studies, enhance the effectiveness of lessons, and teach working people not only theory but also the practical mastering of the new methods of economic management and the skills of economic analysis.

Special attention must be devoted to propagandists of mass forms of economic studies. The wholesale approach, the annual pursuit of maximum coverage, and also the leftover principle of staffing them have resulted in very weak cadres here, as indicated by the following figures—more than 400,000 propagandists, that is, almost 30%, have just secondary education, while specialists with academic degrees and titles make up less than 1%, and economic leaders at all levels make up just 38%.

It is necessary to carry out the certification of propagandists everywhere and reinforce their ranks with economic planning service workers and experienced economic leaders. It is recommended that members of the All-Union Economics Society be involved as much as possible in the work.

When selecting propagandists, account must also be taken of the fact that in the system of mass economic production training the transition will gradually be made from volunteer propagandists to staff teachers or specialists paid by the hour, whose conditions and level of earnings will be similar to those existing in other forms of raising cadres' qualifications and retraining them. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the AUCCTU, and the USSR Ministry of Finance are entrusted with conveying explanations on these questions to all ministries, departments, enterprises, and associations in the very near future.

The success of universal education will depend to a considerable degree on the methods of implementing it and the nature of the lessons. Scholasticism and uncritical dogmatism in addressing adult audiences, monotonous lectures, and boring repetition of general truisms must be resolutely ended. Open and principled discussion of acute problems, the holding of "roundtables,"

debates, and business games, analyses of specific situations, the fulfillment of practical assignments, and visits to progressive enterprises operating under the new conditions of economic management must be made the norm in every qualification-raising institute, in every seminar, and in other forms of studies.

The CPSU Central Committee has recommended the elaboration in all collectives of a system of recording, analyzing, and introducing students' suggestions. They must be examined within strictly set times on a par with working people's comments and suggestions made at party and workers' meetings and in the press. Economic leaders must take a very responsible attitude toward fulfilling this commission and make extensive use of working people's initiative to resolve the most acute questions and seek internal production reserves.

Another important task for ministries and departments is the cardinal improvement of teaching methods support for universal education. Proper attention is being devoted to these questions in a number of sectors—for example, the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry. In the majority, however, sectoral materials still either are not being drawn up at all or are being produced in small print runs and are not reaching schools and seminars, or are of no practical use in terms of their contents.

What assistance can be given, for example, by the recommendations on organizing economic education for trade workers in the 1987-1988 academic year prepared by the sectoral qualification-raising institute, or the model subject plan and study program of full economic accountability and self-financing drawn up by the sectoral teaching methods office, if they repeat almost verbatim materials already published in newspapers and journals or similar studies by the House of Political Education? What is the use of materials which contain nothing specific regarding acute questions of the development of trade, the methods of resolving them, or progressive sectoral experience?

There are many such materials, even though they are prepared by staff workers. More than 100 special structural subdivisions have been created in qualification-raising institutes alone to tackle questions of economic education. More than 300 people work in them. In addition, in these same institutes cadre economic training is carried out by 278 departments employing more than 1,500 staff teachers, 67% of whom have academic degrees and titles.

In this connection each ministry is entrusted with analyzing the work of its qualification-raising institutes, methods offices, and other special structural subdivisions that tackle questions of working people's economic studies.

The Academy of the National Economy under the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education jointly with the AUCCTU are to carry out great work on teaching methods support for universal education. It is necessary to organize the production of standard plans and programs and teaching aids and make it a rule that they be published no later than 3-4 months before the start of the academic year. It is also necessary to think about producing dictionaries, popular reference works, other literature on key problems of radical economic reform, and mass publications on the progressive work experience of enterprises under the new conditions of economic management.

Newspapers, journals, publishing houses, and television must give propagandists and students more active and specific assistance. At present propagandists and students have practically no good printed materials, movies, or television programs on all these questions. A great deal is being said and written about economic accountability and self-financing, but not about the mechanism itself, the transition to the new methods of economic management, or the problems that arise and the ways to resolve them. The journals *PLANOVOYE KHOZ-YAYSTVO*, *VOPROSY EKONOMIKI*, *EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI*, *EKO*, and *SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD* must set an example of the new attitude to universal education. Nor can our leading newspapers remain aloof, primarily *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*, *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA*, *SELSKAYA ZHIZN*, *STROITELNAYA GAZETA*, *TRUD*, and others.

Regarding sectoral journals and publishing houses, so far they have, as a rule, been mobilized extremely poorly. Rare use is made of the experience of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, which each December approves a detailed plan of teaching methods support for cadres' economic education which actively involves all types of the sectoral press.

A very important area of work for ministries, departments, economic leaders, and trade union organs in 1988 is the creation of new mass forms of studies—schools of socialist management, economic production seminars, universities of technical and economic knowledge. A combination of economic and vocational studies must be ensured in them.

In each sector it is expedient to define the base enterprises and establishments and carry out in them on an experimental basis in the very near future the approbation of new approaches to organizing lessons and the development of a mechanism for combining vocational and economic studies as applied to workers, specialists, and leaders. Only on this basis is it possible to elaborate specific recommendations for all of a sector's labor collectives regarding the transfer to the new system of economic production training.

In this work it is necessary to better study and generalize the experience of sectors and enterprises which successfully combine the two kinds of studies. The USSR Gosagroprom, the "Vega," "Elektron," and "Gorizont" Production Associations of the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, and a number of enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry and certain other sectors, for example, are working actively in this area.

In all work on developing universal education it is necessary to enhance the organizing and directing role of ministries, departments, and leaders of associations and enterprises. It is necessary to raise the work standard of councils for cadres' economic production training and increase the effectiveness of the decisions of ministry collegiums and sectoral trade union central committees.

What can be provided, for example, by the 9 April 1987 RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services Collegium resolution which examined the question "On Organizing Economic Education for Working People in Housing and Municipal Services and Enhancing Its Role in Strengthening the Economic Accountability of Enterprises and Organizations in Penza Oblast and the Karelian ASSR"? The exposition and resolution section and the approved measures contain nothing substantive, other than general, long since irksome phrases.

The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, which is entrusted with coordinating the activities of ministries and departments on all these questions, is recommended, on the one hand, to step up control over their work, analyze it in greater depth, and call them more strictly to account and, on the other hand, to give practical assistance and more actively generalize and disseminate the existing experience.

The conference was addressed by K.T. Turysov, AUCCTU secretary; Ye.K. Smiritskiy, USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy rector; V.I. Zubarev, USSR deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education; Yu.N. Balandin, USSR Gosagroprom deputy chairman; Yu.V. Skokov, "Kvant" Science-and-Production Association general director; V.N. Zabelin, deputy minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberia regions of the USSR; Yu.P. Vazisov, Moscow Production Association for Production of Automatic Lines and Special Machine Tools general director; V.V. Martynov, USSR deputy minister of nonferrous metallurgy; N.Ya. Taranov, party committee secretary of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems; G.I. Strela, Motor Vehicle, Tractor, and Agricultural Machine Building Workers Union Central Committee secretary; L.V. Smirnov, RSFSR deputy minister of the textile industry; P.M. Avdeyenko, USSR deputy minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry; and D.N. Nikitin, RSFSR State Prices Committee deputy chairman.

They all pointed to the increased need and importance of radically improving the economic training of cadres under the conditions of the radical reform of economic management and the entry into force of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and spoke about the work being done to organize universal economic education. Self-critically assessing this as just the start of the restructuring of the system of mass economic studies, the speakers addressed a number of specific comments and constructive suggestions to planning and financial organs, the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and newspaper and journal editorial boards.

Summing up the conference, N.N. Slyunkov emphasized that our economy is on the threshold of great, complex, and fundamental economic and political changes. The year 1988 is in many ways an unusual year. It will be a turning point in developing production democracy, extending the rights and independence of enterprises and associations, and enhancing the responsibility of labor collectives for the end results of work.

The new system of self-management, full economic accountability, and self-financing will be asserted and developed only in those sectors and associations where proper significance is attached to the preparations for them and where all working people understand the economy well and master the "anatomy" of the new methods of economic management.

Therefore it is now one of the chief tasks in the work of ministries, departments, economic leaders, and trade unions to organize universal economic education, change the mentality of cadres, and develop modern economic thinking in them. If we do not radically change the situation here and teach working people to think and work in the new way, all our organizational, economic, technical, and other measures will not achieve the set goal. It is from these positions that the importance of the upcoming work on restructuring the system of economic studies and developing universal economic education in the country must be assessed.

Economist Argues Against Growth, Acceleration
PM071231 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jan 88 pp 2-3

[Economist Vasilii Selyunin article under the rubric "Polemical Notes": "Growth Rates Versus Consumption"—boldface as published]

[Text] A few years ago Academician A. Aganbegyan published a calculation that immediately became famous. Here it is in today's figures. We use approximately R580 billion in national income per year. Approximately three-fourths of this sum goes on consumption, while the other fourth goes on accumulation. If income increases by 1/

per year, consumption funds will increase by R4.35 billion. In this instance, however, per capita consumption will remain constant—after all, the population will also increase. Larger increases are needed for people to become richer. The second and third percentage points of any increase will most likely go to fill in the considerable gaps in any large economy—it would be desirable, for instance, to raise minimum pensions. To produce a tangible improvement in living standards the country's overall income must increase by 4 or—even better—5% each year.

Subsequently this argument was often repeated by economists and politicians. The academician's simple sums made a startling impression on me personally. But what is actually happening? Annual income growth is currently near 4%. Let us suppose that as a result of restructuring we make that 5% in the future. By then it will be slightly more substantial, but even so simple calculation shows that the amount of extra money for a person on an independent income will amount to around R1.5 per month. Hardly breathtaking. We are unlikely to pull out all the stops at work for such a goal.

Common sense suggests that something is wrong here. Whichever way you figure it—whether by generally accepted methods or by more cautious approaches—through the work of generations we have created a mighty economy, the second largest in the world. But, it seems, even in the future it will be unable to ensure any noticeable improvement in the people's living standard. That cannot be!

Let us ask a simple question for starters: Is the acceleration of development really the only way of improving prosperity? There is another way of operating: "consuming" more of the produced income and putting less into accumulation. At first glance the reserves in this area are small. By the standards of the developed countries the one-fourth of national income going into accumulation is a considerable figure, but not an enormous one. However, from where did this figure come? Our nice statisticians measure consumption funds and accumulation funds in different ways—in one case the value of goods is measured by retail prices, and in the other case it is measured by wholesale prices. This is the same as using an elastic tape measure. The difference between the two prices falls mainly on the so-called turnover tax. It amounted to R97.7 billion in 1985 and R91.5 in 1986. If we leave these sums out of the reckoning we can see for ourselves that, if measured in retail prices, consumption funds are equivalent to 68-69% of utilized national income.

Later it is explained that even wholesale rubles are not identical. In 1986 for each ruble of production funds light industry workers "generated" 23.5 kopeks of profit, whereas the corresponding figure for power industry workers was only 6.6 kopeks. I will never believe that with power stations operating around the clock the station personnel (highly skilled people) work virtually 4

times less efficiently than sewn goods and footwear industry workers. Heavy industry in total is half as profitable as light industry. There can only be one explanation: Wholesale prices for light industry products are excessive in comparison with the prices of goods for production. Similarly, they are excessive in comparison with transport and construction products. This means the proportion of the consumption fund, measured not only in retail but in wholesale prices, is excessive.

There are also other distortions in the calculations. If both parts of utilized national income are measured in prices with identical levels (how else should it be done?) then I calculate that consumption funds represent around 60% of national income, with accumulation funds representing a corresponding 40%. Such a high proportion of accumulation is essentially a wartime norm. It is here, I believe—in nudging up consumption rather than boosting growth rates—that the main reserve for improving living standards lies.

Yet official science makes us think in terms of rates. Acceleration is understood as cranking up the speed of economic development: In the period of stagnation, we are told, income growth fell below 3% per year; this is not enough, we must do more at all costs, and then we will get richer. Will we? Where did scientists get the idea that income need only be increased by an extra percentage point for additional billions to appear in our pockets ready for personal consumption? The fact is that we do not calculate our income for the year and then split it into two piles: one for consumption and the other for the construction of enterprises, housing, and public premises—in short, for accumulation. In real life national income is being created and spent every minute. This money is merely a symbolic reflection of physical benefits, and if these value additions represent machine tools, combines, and missiles they can hardly be classified as personal consumption. The great falsehood of abstract scientific calculation is that it ignores the substantial physical replenishment of newly created value.

This should not be done. The proportion of consumer items in total output has been steadily declining for many decades. We will restrict our calculations to industry. In 1928 consumer items (Group B) accounted for 60.5% of total output. In 1940 this proportion had fallen to 39/

. OK, it was the year before the war and there was no time for luxuries—it was a question of survival. But how is one to explain the subsequent turn of events: By 1960 the weighting of Group B products had fallen to 27.5/

and reached 25.2% in 1985. While a direct comparison would not be entirely correct, let us nonetheless ponder on whether it is conceivable that, according to official

accounts, three-fourths of national income goes on consumption, while consumer goods make up only one-fourth of the output of industry, for instance? Where, one wonders, are the goods that the consumption fund represents?

But let us continue our calculations. In 1981-1985 industrial production grew on average by 3.7% per year. This figure is made up of 3.6% in Group A and 3.9% in Group B. In 1986 the overall rate increased to 4.9%, representing an increase of 5.3% in Group A and 3.9% in Group B. As we can see, the entire acceleration has been achieved through the production of capital goods, while there has been no increase at all in the production of consumer items. Compared with the years that immediately preceded it, the figure had even fallen: In 1983-1985 the increases in Group B were 4.1-4.3% per year as against 3.9% in 1986.

As a result there has been a further reduction in the proportion of Group B items in the overall volume of production—from 26.2% in 1980 to 24.7% in 1986. Had the relationship between Groups A and B remained at the 1980 level industry would have produced R12.6 billion more consumer goods in 1986 than it actually did. (I would point out as a comparison that the overall increase in the consumption fund created by the whole economy and spent not merely on personal consumption amounted to just R9.2 billion in 1986.) If we calculate on the basis of the prewar "norm" (1940) the shortfall in consumer goods as a result of the reduction in the proportion of Group B products is almost R120 billion, or around R425 per person. That is in wholesale prices. In retail prices the losses are much greater.

The colossal, truly tectonic improvements in the production of capital goods (in favor of the first subdivision) have left us in a paradoxical situation whereby the acceleration of development rates and the more rapid growth in national income have a very slight impact on living standards. The economy is increasingly working not for people but for itself. In its present structure it inexorably reproduces a ratio between the first and second subdivisions of social production that is quite unacceptable for peacetime, and it does so in an inferior way: In each subsequent cycle the proportion of consumer goods produced is lower than in the previous cycle.

This danger has not yet been recognized.

Capital investment is spread far too thinly. We currently have no fewer than 350,000 production construction projects under way, and no power can keep them from multiplying. Resources are spread thinly—each project, for instance, is manned by no more than 12 construction workers on average. Completing such a large number of projects in a sensible period is inconceivable, and obsolete enterprises must be kept working because of the chronic capacity shortage. As a result fixed production assets expand unchecked. In the current 5-year plan extreme measures have had to be taken—for the first

time in a long period the proportion of accumulation in national income has increased. There are not enough funds, however, to both maintain existing production facilities in a normal condition and to simultaneously build new facilities. Economists versed in accountancy calculate that the introduction of new capacity now barely compensates for the hidden withdrawal of capacity as a result of obsolescence. **In other words, the swelling accumulation fund no longer accumulates wealth.**

Under these conditions the shortage of tools and items used at work can only be exacerbated. Our country is streets ahead of the rest in terms of the production of metals, tractors, and combines, in fuel extraction, in numbers of machine tools—the list goes on and on—yet nonetheless there are shortages of this and that, and other things besides. Where will this unchecked growth stop? There is a natural limit in the goods economy—effective demand. Production is not of the slightest value in the goods economy if the goods in question are not bought. In this sense even overproduction crises can be of use: They are a warning that at the level of production in question output should not be increased. The abolition of the market removes this check. But if there are no longer any restrictions on demand, how is economic development limited? Merely by available resources; there is nothing else.

But these resources run out unevenly. Labor resources were the first to finish—the workforce will not be growing from now on. In fact, acceleration is designed to compensate for labor shortages by improving productivity. Hence, incidentally, the priority given to machine building: New equipment improves productivity, which in turn provides a new boost to economic growth. We are still far from this goal. But let us suppose that it is attainable. Is everything in order then? Hardly. With more productive labor an economy stripped of restraints will start consuming other—including nonrenewable—resources with greater force.

This is not conjecture, but a conclusion based on practice. It is currently fashionable to bad-mouth the period of stagnation. However, no stagnation was recorded in the base and raw material sectors. Let us look at the national economy's power budget. All the energy resources in it (fuel and electricity from hydroelectric and nuclear stations) are expressed in terms of a common denominator—tonnes of standard fuel. Average annual stocks increased by 51 million tonnes in 1951-1970 and by 69 million tonnes in 1971-1985. In 1984 1 billion or so tonnes more fuel were used than in 1970. This increase alone is almost equal to the entire production of energy resources in 1965. In the same 14 years approximately as much fuel was extracted as in the country's entire previous history. If that is stagnation, just what is rapid growth?

I toured Western Siberia when work was just starting on the virgin oilfields. At the time it seemed the reserves would be enough for our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren. But we have outdone the oil shaykhs and

contrived to extract this natural resource in the space of a single generation. In 1960 fewer than 150 million tonnes of oil were drilled, today we extract 600 million or so tonnes every year and there is still not enough fuel—planes are sometimes unable to take off and trucks stand idle because of it. Gas extraction is growing even more rapidly—the figure of 1 million cubic meters a year beckons on the horizon. People who understand are honestly warning: "Will not this 'premature' trillion be an alarming sign in the economy?" (PRAVDA, 17 November 1987).

It could well be, yes indeed! Everyone is demanding that the braking mechanism be smashed. Nonetheless, a smooth economic mechanism does need checks—otherwise we will leave a desert behind us without enjoying the fruits of our labors. **A self-consuming [samoyedskiy] economy will hardly deign to ever concern itself with people or our needs.**

We are reaching the final point, beyond which high rates will be impossible to achieve with the existing sector structure. Yes, for the time being the emphasis on machine building has led to more rapid growth in national income. But let us take a closer look at the physical indicators of acceleration. Using statistical handbooks it is easy to compare the number of tractors and combines on kolkhozes and sovkhozes with the number of machine operators. If the figures coincided this would represent economic profligacy. Indeed, during its life a combine may work on seven or eight harvests, that is, it is in use for 6 months at most. How can we permit it to be used during the harvest on just one—albeit extended—shift? It is just as wasteful to issue all machine operators with their own tractors. In fact the situation is even worse: In 1986 452,000 tractors and combines were "ownerless"—driver cadres had not been provided for them.

Do not think obsolete units are scrapped: The average working life of tractors and combines is 7 and 7 and 1/2 years respectively. Foreign farmers cannot afford such renewal periods. Yet at the same time output of combines is increasing and currently kolkhozes and sovkhozes refuse to buy three out of every ten new machines. This occurs even though the purchaser gets a "Don" combine for less than half price—the state pays the producer the rest. A powerful "Don" sells for less than a "Volga" car but still, it seems, is not needed. Hundreds of thousands of tractors stand idle yet, incredibly enough, there are plans to build an enormous tractor plant in Yelabuga. Does that make sense?

We advise anyone unconvinced by these individual examples to look at the very interesting calculations recently published by the well-known economist I. Mamlygin. According to his calculations, 45% of positions in the main shops at machine building plants are superfluous; there are no workers for them. Such positions make up more than one-fourth of the jobs in

the main shops of industry as a whole. The USSR Bank for Financing Capital Investments reports that the value of uninstalled equipment runs into many billions of rubles. Stocks of goods and materials in the national economy are approaching R500 billion, and in certain years the increase in national income has not even covered the growth in stocks of materials.

We are told that expenditure of resources per unit of output must be reduced, that the proportion of machines should be cut, and that more sophisticated items should be produced. **But I think that in the prevailing situation cranking up production volumes would mean wasting labor, raw materials, fuel, and other assets even more energetically.**

The acceleration that has been achieved is illusory. Superfluous unused machines and equipment have, of course, been taken account of in national income, as laid down. But since these goods, unlike raw materials, are expensive the development rate has surged in recent years. At the same time, the aforesaid "ownerless" tractors and combines are not creating new output or, consequently, national income because they are standing idle. To maintain development rates next year we will have to produce for the accounts even more machines which will again not be producing output. When there is no natural growth the economy needs to be stimulated and spurred on. This is pointless! An overburdened horse will not rush to gallop uphill.

There is another central reason why acceleration is past its best. With the rise in nominal wages and the simultaneous reduction in the proportion of consumer goods in the total volume of production there has been a rapid rise in savings—there is nothing to spend the money on. Contributions to savings banks have exceeded R260 billion. We do not know how much is kept in socks, but undoubtedly total savings are already nearing the population's annual monetary income and may have surpassed it.

This is really clipping the wings of restructuring. Let me explain for the sake of those who do not understand. Good work must be well paid, but what can we use for pay when there is nothing to buy with the money in people's pay packets? This was a stumbling block for the well-known Shchekino method. Its essence was simple: Where four people, for instance, worked previously, three people would manage themselves and share the wages of the person released. The additional output per worker more than made up for the extra pay. But what was the output? The Shchekino combine, for instance, produces fertilizer, which is hardly ever sold to the population. Rubles were issued which needed to be spent on quite different goods, but there was no increase in the supply of such goods. The then State Committee for Labor and Social Problems had no choice but to put a stop to the uncontrolled wage growth among those following the Shchekino initiative. A marvelous initiative had been ruined.

Profound structural improvements in the economy—it needs to stretch from working for oneself to people and their needs—will be required to prevent such things from happening to restructuring. People are not factors, reserves, or resources, but the ultimate goal of the economy—the sun around which it should revolve.

Restructuring, which is long overdue, is incompatible with inflated rates. The ending of the production of superfluous, unused means of production will lead to a reduction in total increases (but at the same time it will also lead to savings of resources; I also believe we should look calmly on failure to fulfill the current 5-year plan targets—let us take the view that resources have been saved rather than wasted on the production of unnecessary items). Calculations further show that the turn toward the production of consumer goods will take a fairly long time, during which the overall pace of development will be minimal and possibly negative. However, there is just no other solution. The question is **either to build up output volumes or to restructure the economy.** There is no third option, so we will just have to choose.

Readers will undoubtedly have noticed that these conclusions run counter to the recommendations of official science. Influential scientists advise accelerating national economic development, but we think that a reduction in development rates is inevitable and even desirable for the sake of structural changes. According to the recommendations of official science the proportion of accumulation in utilized national income has increased in the current 5-year plan—in our view, it is excessive as it is. I realize these ideas will trigger protests from right and left, from above and below, and from the side as well. We are all accustomed to taking pride in high rates and the crisis-free, unrestricted development of the economy, the conviction that production of capital goods is undoubtedly a priority has become second nature—and suddenly these apparent axioms are being questioned. Not by me, however, but by life with a capital "L." So let us obey life rather than plans.

'Breakthrough' Only Path for Restructuring
PM081109 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 6 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by Pavel Voshchanov, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, under the "Regular Daily Spot" rubric: "Half-Measures Won't Do"]

[Excerpts] I would like to share the alarm felt by those KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers who, in letters received in the last few days of the old year and first few days of the new year, voice disquiet over the fate of the reform begun this January. At the start of 1988 people are worried about whether the fate of the other reform begun in the mid-sixties but not carried through will befall today's revolutionary changes in the economy.

Yes, 1965 has left a syndrome of disquiet and uncertainty about the success of any restructuring, since many of the 20-year-old directive documents sound as fresh as if they they had been delivered from lofty rostrums today.

Twenty-three years ago, just like today, good, correct actions were begun. But the result was... a sharp decline in the rate and efficiency of economic growth. Stagnation.

What caused this? Let us now look back from our present vantage point and see why the 1965 reform failed.

The halfheartedness of the decisions made was one of the main blunders of that restructuring. The reform affected only certain elements of economic management and did not encroach on the economic mechanism as a whole. [passage omitted]

That reform, like today's, proclaimed an expansion of enterprises' autonomy. Yes, the enterprise could, depending on the size of its profit, provide "material incentives" for itself. Ministries, reluctant to relinquish the reins of government, however, took it upon themselves to decide all questions concerning planning, the use of their enterprises' income, and economic relations among them. So what was left of the triumph of complete economic accountability? [passage omitted]

It must be said that today's economic reform, whose main provisions were drawn up at the 27th party congress, is substantially different from the previous one and is free from many of its shortcomings. Now in any event we have a clearly defined strategy for changing the economic mechanism. It embraces planning, price formation, the system of material and technical supply, and a system of economically accountable relations. Everything must be changed in content, not just form. The main thing that, in intention, makes restructuring irreversible is democratization. That was not so in 1965. [passage omitted]

There would seem to be no objective reasons for doubting the success of the reform today. But, in my opinion, the threat is primarily to be seen in the fact that attempts are being made to adapt the old apparatus and the old management methods to the new economic mechanism. To justify their own existence numerous departments are proposing all manner of amendments and additions to recently adopted party and government documents. At first glance they appear to stem from the purest of motives and a desire to further reform. But in fact they pursue a single goal—that of nipping in the bud potential changes in economic leadership and maintaining bureaucratic power. This approach is to be seen, for example, in state orders, one of the main elements in democratizing the new economic mechanism. The ministries are trying to "hand down" to enterprises—in the shape of an edict labeled "state order"—everything that was previously planned by edict. The USSR Gosplan

and the USSR State Board of Arbitration are issuing a resolution ordering the centralized allocation of even those pathetic vestiges of "free" output that do not come under the "state order-cum-plan" and notionally remain for the free wholesale market, which is having a difficult birth...

We have been bequeathed difficult problems by the administrative management system. But they have to be solved. We must really solve them, not just create the semblance of a solution. Only a real breakthrough by collectives toward self-management and self-capitalization can help our restructuring triumph rather than peter out as it did 20 years ago...

Rekunkov Calls for 'Rule of Law' in Economy
PM061143 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*
in Russian No 52, Dec 87 (signed to press 17 Dec 87)
p 4

[USSR Prosecutor General A.M. Rekunkov article under the rubric "The Economy and the Law": "Raising a Barrier Against Economic Mismanagement"]

[Text] The fundamental improvement of the economic mechanism and of the legal foundations for the restructuring of economic management, together with questions and discussion on these topics, must certainly be combined with enhanced responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of decisions already adopted. Much has been said and written recently about the substantial expansion of enterprises' rights. So much, in fact, that at times one gets the impression that rights could exist without responsibilities. But they cannot! When we forget this, we come across distortions which result in economic mismanagement.

Everyone knows the difficult conditions in which the 1987 harvest was gathered. But it was not just the weather conditions that let crop farmers down. Inspections conducted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office into the observance of legislation aimed at ensuring the safekeeping of the new crop revealed that, in the course of the harvest campaign, a number of regions in the country felt the tangible effect of negative factors like the absence of prompt deliveries of combine harvesters, tractors, and spare parts and the shipment of incomplete or substandard agricultural machines. Only 12 of the 42 "Don-1500" grain harvesting combines delivered to Orenburg Oblast were fully operational. For that same reason, only 40 of the 76 such combines delivered to Poltava Oblast took part in harvesting work. Many "Don" combines lay idle because of technical failures and major breakdowns.

The "Rostselmash" Production Association was fined a total of more than R20 million for breaches of state and contract discipline. But how is one to calculate the actual damage suffered by kolkhozes and sovkhozes? It is altogether unclear why the officials guilty of this were far

from always punished. It seems as if the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building has resigned itself to irresponsibility.

I would like to mention another Prosecutor's Office inspection, this one into the observance of legal requirements in the conduct of design research work within the system of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

It is well-known that this ministry combines the functions of client, designer, and contractor in the construction of power industry projects. It would seem that departmental barriers would have been demolished and the necessary conditions for efficient work would have been created. In practice, however, we discovered serious shortcomings in work organization have produced losses running into many millions.

Overexpenditure in the 11th 5-Year Plan period due to poor quality of project design amounted to more than R147 million, in other words 20% of the total increase in the cost of power industry projects. These figures conceal poor project design quality, gross mistakes in the selection of construction sites, losses on unrealized projects, and lack of coordination regarding time schedules, finance, and provision of resources. The enormous loss resulting from economic mismanagement and professional incompetence by specific officials was borne in full by the state because the culprits were shielded from responsibility on various pretexts.

There are many facets to economic mismanagement. It is no secret that the territory occupied by many enterprises, railroad stations, and construction sites has been turned into dumps for expensive raw materials, other materials, and equipment. We are no longer talking of millions but of billions of rubles. According to data as of October, the stocks of uninstalled equipment alone amounted to R14.5 billion, including imported equipment costing almost R5 billion. This represents an increase over last year. A considerable proportion of idle equipment is now obsolete, dismantled, and incapable of being used for its original purpose. Nonetheless, some economic leaders stick to the principle that "stocks cost nothing" and make no attempt to look at this problem from state positions. Just as in previous years, they close their eyes to the fact that stocks are rotting and being wasted in their own backyards and go begging the state for new equipment and additional funds.

We are still waiting for a fundamental breakthrough regarding the improved safekeeping of the people's wealth and the eradication of theft, bribery, and breaches of state discipline. The scale of the so-called "black" economy is expanding in many of the country's regions; there are more frequent instances of drunkenness, and speculators, idlers, and pilferers are having a great time.

It is necessary to make a realistic assessment of the processes that are occurring. The years of stagnation produced a serious slackening in monitoring and in the struggle to safeguard socialist property. Even now words like "steal" and "pilfer" have lost their original meaning for certain categories of citizens, and euphemisms are in circulation—"swipe," "scrounge," "filch." It would be naive to imagine that this category of individuals would voluntarily surrender its positions. It is necessary to make full use of Soviet laws in the struggle against encroachments on the people's wealth so as to effectively block all channels and loopholes for bribe-takers and swindlers and promptly put an end to their criminal activity.

More than 60,000 persons were sentenced during the first 6 months of this year for embezzling state and public property. During the same period, criminal proceedings were instituted against almost 24,000 officials for embezzlement involving abuse of office. The damage they cause to the state runs into many millions of rubles. Theft is particularly widespread at enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, the trade network, consumer cooperatives, the construction, light, meat, and dairy industries, consumer services, and supply and marketing organizations.

Is it possible to raise a reliable barrier against embezzlement? Certainly, it is, provided order is imposed in the primary recordkeeping, storage, distribution, and consumption of material assets.

Monitoring and auditing work are still the weak link in the economic mechanism. Departmentalism and parochialism have literally trampled the monitoring, auditing, and legal services. Basically, they have largely ceased to perform their intended functions and often provide cover for improper and even criminal actions.

Practical measures are needed to create an effective monitoring system at rayon, oblast, and republic levels by boosting the coordinating role of people's control. Profound economic-legal analysis of the causes of losses and mandatory responsibility imposed on officials from the departmental auditing apparatus and functional subdivisions for every instance of inaction must become the norm in ministries and departments. At present the departmental apparatus brings to light only one-third of all detected embezzlement cases.

We will be successful in ensuring the safekeeping of socialist property only when the plunderers and money-grubbers realize the inevitability of being brought to account. Following the initiative of the Estonian Prosecutor's Office, the republic Supreme Soviet made it mandatory for economic leaders to institute official investigations into every instance of loss of state and public property and to resolve the question of reimbursement of damage by the culprits. This practice must be introduced everywhere.

There must be no underestimating the particular topicality attached to the full eradication of the overreporting, window dressing, and deception of the state which literally disorganized the plan foundations of the economy during the stagnation period. Has the situation now changed? Last year, just as a result of intervention by prosecutor's offices—and these are, after all, the exceptional cases—disciplinary, administrative, and civil proceedings were instituted against more than 24,000 officials, while 2,000 people were tried for deliberate window dressing. Unfortunately, there has been virtually no decline in the number of these antisocial phenomena in 1987.

One of the reasons for the tenacity of overreporting is the fact that most of the culprits go unpunished. Economic management organs bring overreporting to light on extremely rare occasions and, furthermore, either shield window dressers from responsibility or simply transplant them to another leadership position. Cases of this nature are even now reported from Uzbekistan, where a heavy price has been paid for corruption bred in the soil of deception of the party and the state. This is why it is important to effectively call to account not only the window dressers themselves but also their patrons who, as a rule, are to be found "one rung higher."

At this point it must be said that exceptionally favorable opportunities have been created in the country for fundamentally improving the practical administration of justice. On the one hand, the role of the law is neither exaggerated nor diminished, while legal requirements are backed by the material and organizational prerequisites necessary for their actual implementation. On the other hand, there is an atmosphere of universal approval for the measures to consolidate the rule of law, making it possible to wage a successful struggle against any antisocial phenomena.

The implementation of these opportunities demands also a fundamental restructuring of the activity of prosecutor's office organs, which is taking place in conformity with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) resolution "On Measures to Enhance the Role of Prosecutors' Supervision in the Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order." The center of gravity in our work is shifting to supervision of the application of laws in the economic sphere. Many postulates, which seemed immutable until quite recently, are being reviewed.

It was held for a long time that the result of measures implemented by prosecutor's offices could not be calculated, that it "dissolves" without a trace into the overall results of economic activity. Results were presented in the form of the number of inspections, representations, and other acts of intervention by prosecutor's offices. Now the practical work of prosecutor's offices is switching to the tracks of real effectiveness, with interest focusing on an end result which consists in the actual elimination of breaches of the rule of law.

The Prosecutor's Office, operating in conditions of restructuring and relying on the entire mechanism for ensuring the rule of law, strives not to supplant economic managers and legal services. Prosecutors have been set the task not only of promptly detecting and eradicating breaches of the rule of law in the economy, but also of aiming for their prevention. For this purpose they must make full use of existing materials for the elaboration and implementation of coordinated actions with all interested departments. Experience in this work has already been accumulated.

This year the USSR Prosecutor's Office, together with monitoring organs and leaders of 30 union ministries, adopted an agreed decision on joint actions to strengthen the rule of law in economic relations with a view to supplementing rather than supplanting or duplicating each other. A start has been made. What we need now is strict monitoring of execution.

There are also specific plans for preventing breaches of the rule of law, drawn up for a long-term period and covering entire sectors of the national economy. For example, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, jointly with the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, elaborated a program for improving the sector's legal backup mechanism. The initial results of the implementation of planned measures testify to their positive effect on the strengthening of contract discipline and the reduction of nonproduction costs.

At the same time, we are clearly aware that a whole lot more work still remains. We have to learn to act in conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost because our efforts to strengthen the rule of law in the economy will be unsuccessful unless they are based on the tremendous potential of labor collectives.

We need the assistance of economic management cadres to study the specific economy, to become profoundly familiar with the situation, and on this basis to apply legal means in the interests of the cause. We cannot tolerate the mistakes of the past, when unconsidered actions and obsolete regulations and instructions created obstacles in the way of people with initiative and enterprise. The USSR Prosecutor's Office demands of prosecutors a rigorous and considered approach to the solution of questions concerning the responsibility of officials and citizens in cases involving violations in economic activity.

At the same time, we have set the task of organizing everywhere supervisory work to ensure that departmental instructions, directives, explanations, and other normative documents conform with the law. There is, after all, a danger that even new legislative acts, having gone through departmental offices, could be subjected to interpretations and riders which could totally obscure any healthy idea.

We are guided by the simple and clear-cut approach formulated at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum: Vagueness regarding the legality or illegality of various actions in economic management must be completely ruled out. There must be broader application of the general legal principle: "Everything that is not prohibited by law is permitted."

The Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which is a most important legal lever of the economy's restructuring, accomplished a breakthrough in the legal regulation of economic relations: It established the enterprises' right to make all decisions at their own initiative, provided they do not run contrary to current legislation, while emphasizing that all organs of state power and management bear responsibility for observing the law's provisions.

Consequently, the Prosecutor's Office will focus attention mainly on the practical protection of enterprises against administrative interferences and bureaucratic distortions, on the prevention of restrictions being imposed on the broad rights vested by the Law on the State Enterprise. A system of measures has been elaborated for this purpose, enabling prosecutor's offices at all levels to join in resolving conflicts and ensuring the rule of law by overcoming parochial and departmental influences.

All legal levers will be applied to strengthen the rule of law in the economy, including supplementary powers granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 16 June 1987 decree. Prosecutors have now been supplied with an effective tool in the form of the recommendation on eliminating blatant breaches of law. It is aimed at effectively eradicating illegal actions.

A Prosecutor's Office inspection at the "Latsantekhmon-tazh" Trust established numerous breaches of the law on the safekeeping of the people's assets—lack of security and protection facilities, access by outsiders to material assets, and so on. Following recommendations by the Latvian SSR Prosecutor, the trust's administration immediately eliminated these breaches. Specific measures were taken in Kazakhstan, immediately following prosecutors' recommendations, to prevent losses at harvesting time. There have been noticeable benefits from recommendations by prosecutors in the transportation sector, where delays are impermissible since any breaches of the law are capable of producing serious consequences.

People may ask: Are these recommendations not a form of interference in the day-to-day economic activity and managerial functions of enterprise leaders? It must be emphasized that this form of intervention by prosecutors is legal and necessary whenever there has been a clear breach of law and there is no other way to prevent damage being caused.

The Prosecutor's Office, occupying an important position within the system of state organs, has some complex tasks to resolve. They make greater demands of Prosecutor's Office cadres. At this point it must be admitted that hitherto we have not been completely successful in overcoming manifestations of lack of principle, passivity, and breaches of the rule of law in the work of prosecutors and investigators. There is at times a shortage of militancy, initiative, independence, and ability to take matters to their conclusion. Restructuring in many prosecutor's offices is progressing slowly and in a contradictory fashion. The USSR Prosecutor's Office is taking resolute measures to eliminate such shortcomings, substantial amendments have been introduced in cadres policy, and a fundamentally new style, in line with the tasks of restructuring, is being assimilated in work. There is more democracy and glasnost, work is being coordinated with organizational measures by party and soviet organs, and there is collaboration with soviets, people's control organs, and other law enforcement agencies.

But in summing up it must be noted that the struggle for the rule of law is still not producing the results we are entitled to expect. We feel the effect of errors by law enforcement and control organs, and even more so of the inertia and even concealed opposition by ministry and department officials when the issue involves the effective imposition of order and actual strengthening of the rule of law. This means it is necessary to double and treble our efforts and give more attention to practical work because democracy and the rule of law, order, and responsibility are inseparable from restructuring.

Briefs

Moscow Gasoline Shortage

The USSR is producing some 1.4 million cars per annum, and the number of privately owned cars is growing rapidly. Moscow alone experiences an annual increase of some 25,000 private cars. Yet the situation of providing gasoline to these cars is becoming more acute each day. There are currently only 64 gas stations in Moscow, with another 48 planned. The situation is made worse by poor quality pumps at the stations and the irregular delivery of gasoline. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 0410 GMT 6 Jan 88 OW*]

Takhiyatas Power Plant

A jubilant meeting was held in Takhiyatas yesterday to commission the eighth energy block of the Takhiyatas power plant in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. The energy block is capable of generating 210,000 KW of electricity. The new block nearly doubles the generating power of the Takhiyatas power plant, the largest of its kind in northern Uzbekistan, to 520,000 kw. In addition to meeting the needs of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and the Khorezm Oblast in the Uzbek SSR, the Takhiyatas power plant supplies electricity to Chardzhou and Tashauz Oblasts in

the Turkmen SSR. The ninth block of the power plant is expected to be completed on schedule. [Summary] [Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 30 Dec 87 NC]

Agricultural

Uzbek Committee Discusses Resource Usage *NC120850 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek* *0215 GMT 31 Dec 87*

[Text] The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau met on 30 December to discuss the work of the Kashka Darya Obkom to improve the use of land and water resources to increase agricultural production in the oblast. The meeting noted the failure of the Kashka Darya Obkom to carry out required reconstruction to upgrade the role of the Communists and increase the responsibilities of the leading cadres and experts to guarantee more productive use of the existing potential in the agro-industrial complex. The meeting also noted that although more than 2.7 billion rubles have been spent to improve water resources and set up new sovkhozes in the oblast over the past 12 years, and although the power supply to the existing kolkhozes and sovkhozes has been doubled during the same period, the pace of agricultural production has not increased.

Necessary attention has not been focused on how to improve farming in the oblast. Productivity in rural regions has declined. Productivity in livestock breeding has not increased either. [Words indistinct] the plan drawn up for procuring meat has not been realized. The CPSU Central Committee demands regarding self-sufficiency and development of private establishments and supplementary establishments of factories have not been fulfilled satisfactorily. Due to a lack of control by the local party and soviet organs, only 20-21/

of the land allocated for factories has been used. The productivity level of the factories is 2 or 3 times less than the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The Kashka Darya Obkom and the Kashka Darya Oblspolkom have not pressured the rural party and soviet organs to increase the volume of agricultural production. The oblast has not realized its task in the supply of meat to Tashkent.

The party, soviet, and economic organs have not fully exploited conditions which allow for the creation of new economic methods for increasing (?work output) and upgrading agricultural productivity. Formalism and [words indistinct] prevailed in efforts to organize work and realize the contemporary forms of [words indistinct].

The obkom has not provided useful guidance to agricultural establishments and water resources organizations on matters concerning the productive use of water resources. Due to the absence of effective control and the failure

by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to draw up plans for the productive use of water resources, water supply in the oblast has been inadequate. Crops have been irrigated without consideration for the [word indistinct] and climate conditions. Nor has sufficient importance been attached to the question of mechanization in irrigation.

The flooding of crops in the establishments and the inconsistent use of the irrigation and [word indistinct] resources have weakened the mineral composition of the fields, the area of which doubled during the past 10 years, totaling 50,000 hectares. The guidance given to efforts by the kolkhozes and the sovkhozes to adopt the system of scientific farming and new economic measures has been useless. A determined effort to adopt new work methods has been lacking. The tasks concerning upgrading the mineral level of the fields have not been fulfilled. The quality of work has been unsatisfactory. One of every two plans drawn up for the construction of water installations has been wasted.

Deficiencies in efforts to reclaim arid lands in Karshi Desert are being removed slowly. The sovkhozes set up on dry lands have not achieved the planned production targets for a long time. The work carried out to reorganize their fields and set up their drainage systems has been slow. The problem of supplying housing facilities, natural gas, and water to the workers in a number of sovkhozes has not been resolved. Furthermore, there have been many serious deficiencies in providing consumer, trade, and medical services to the [word indistinct].

The decision adopted by the bureau noted that the Kashka Darya Obkom and its bureau failed to reach the level required to launch an effort to improve land and water resource usage. The decision also called for urgent measures to remove existing deficiencies in the oblast.

The bureau called on the obkom to heed the recommendations of the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and channel its organizational and political work toward upgrading agricultural production. The gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations affiliated with the agricultural and water resources establishments should focus their attention on increasing the productivity of irrigated lands and upgrading farming methods. The demands on the cadres must be increased. The cadres' approach to their work must be completely changed, and their sense of responsibility must be increased. More importance must be attached to [word indistinct]. All the oblast's Communists and workers must be mobilized to fulfill successfully the plans and targets of 1988, including those of the entire 12th 5-year plan period.

The bureau drew the attention of Muminov, Kashka Darya Obkom secretary, and (?Kazing), Kashka Darya Oblast Soviet Executive Committee chairman, to their undisciplined behavior in fulfilling the task of supplying agricultural products to Tashkent City.

For the sake of information, the bureau recorded the fact that the oblast had drawn up and approved a program in conflict with the objective of increasing productivity of land and water resources from 1987 to 1990. The obkom and the oblispolkom were advised to see to it that required measures are taken in all the rayons of the kolkhozes and the sovkhozes. They were also urged to control the implementation of these measures.

Meanwhile, the bureau assigned various tasks to a number of the republic's ministries, administrations, and scientific establishments with a view to urging them to help the Kashka Darya Oblast resolve its existing problems.

The bureau also discussed a number of other issues and adopted relevant decisions.

Regional Developments for 1-8 Jan Noted

LD100157 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 1-8 Jan. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 January

Everything is ready for sowing. Such reports have been arriving in the Uzbekistan State Agro-Industrial Committee from many farms in the Namangan and Andizhan Oblasts. On the whole, in the republic more than four-fifths of tractors and a considerable number of plows and sowing machines have been repaired to date. However, there is a considerable number of rayons where the preparation of farming machinery for spring is organized in an extremely unsatisfactory way. The state of affairs in the Karakalpak ASSR, where only one-third of all machinery has been repaired, is of concern. (1200)

2 January

Soil-cleaning irrigation operations have begun on the cotton plantations of Uzbekistan. Over the winter, this work will cover an area in excess of 1.5 million hectares. The operation will be carried out twice in areas where salinization of the soil is particularly great. (0304)

3-5 January

No fileworthy items were monitored.

6 January

Kazakh grain farms plan to sow 1 million metric tons of seeds during this year's campaign, the highest quantity ever. (1430)

7 January

Uzbekistan: Planes have appeared over cotton-growing fields applying mineral fertilizer in accordance with soil needs. In the Karshi Steppe an average 200 kg of ammonium phosphate and 100 kg of potassium are being applied per hectare. To date more than 100,000 hectares have been treated with mineral fertilizers. (0304)

New varieties of wheat: Yuliy Mikhailovich Puchkov, head of a department at the Kuban Agricultural Scientific and Research Institute, says two varieties of wheat, Zamena and Istok, are approximately 100 cm high and their yield is 80-85 quintals per hectare. The yield of another strong variety (?Spartanka) is up to 95-100 quintals per hectare. This variety produces high yields even in drought conditions. It exceeds the standards. (1200)

8 January

Aleksandr Ruvinskiy talks about preparations for spring sowing, citing Gosagroprom data: The quality of seeds at the moment is somewhat lower than in past years with similar January weather. Where sowing will be starting first—in Moldavia, south Ukraine, and the north Caucasus—farms are generally ensured supplies of quality seed. In other regions where the harvesting of seeds was carried out in very complicated weather conditions—the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, and the non-Chernozem Zone—a large volume of work still needs to be done, such as cleaning, etc., to bring seeds up to the required standard. Unfortunately, the readiness of soil-tilling and sowing machinery is lower than last year. Repairs began somewhat later and production capacities are far from being fully used. Statistical data shows that such oblasts as Belgorod, Lipetsk, and a number of others have fully prepared their tractor and machinery pools for the spring. In Daghestan many plows and seed-drills still have to be overhauled. Unfortunately, the preparation of sprinkler equipment is being held up everywhere. (0500)

Military

Restructuring Must Enhance Combat Readiness

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[Editorial: "Party Organizations at the New Stage of Restructuring"]

[Text] Our country is entering the new, second stage of restructuring. It hinges on the further democratization of Soviet society and the radical economic reform, which means new and more complex tasks for the party. Success will depend entirely on how far party organizations are able in their practical activity to reveal and activate the human factor and its creative potential and to ensure in practice communists' vanguard role.

This is the standpoint from which the reports by Army and Navy party organization committees, bureaus, and secretaries on the progress of restructuring in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress are being assessed. Life shows convincingly that wherever the work of party organizations has become more energetic, vigorous, and purposeful, high exactingness toward people and openness in relations between them have been established, and there is more glasnost and democracy; communists are making a bigger contribution to enhancing the combat skill of the personnel of the unit, ship, or subunit and to reinforcing organization and military discipline.

Take, for instance, the guards paratroop unit where Guard Captain S. Shagunov works as party committee secretary. Here an atmosphere of communists' committed participation in resolving the tasks of restructuring has been established, and their leading role in combating phenomena of stagnation in combat training and spiritual life is ensured. The party committee is persistently implementing a line of enhancing exactingness toward communists for setting a personal example and taking an active part in organizational work to ensure the implementation of the adopted decisions. The results of the past year show that 45/

of members and candidate members of the party earned the rating "excellent" and all who were required to reach skill grades did so, and, what is more, 40/

of communists are high grade specialists. At the party meeting at the unit at which the party committee report on the progress of restructuring was delivered, a profound and critical analysis was made of what has been done, each communist was subjected to an exacting assessment, outstanding questions were identified, and concrete ways of enhancing party influence on the quality of combat and political training and the intensification of party work in the military collective were outlined.

Today every party organization must be precisely oriented toward practical work and toward achieving marked improvements in all spheres of the combat activities of the unit or ship. In view of the beginning of the new stage of restructuring, party work must be raised to a new level—that vigorously combining the elaborated concept of restructuring with real life. Communists' efforts must be channeled above all into overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the combat training of troops and naval forces and the elimination of the main braking mechanism—violations of the planned character of combat and political training, the diversion of personnel from training, and attempts to cut corners or overlook shortcomings.

The next thing that party organizations must most resolutely strive for is the creation of a new moral climate in military collectives and the moral irreproachability of communists. What is needed is an atmosphere marked by cohesion, enthusiasm, and a striving for great

aims. What is needed is genuine closeness between older and younger generations, candor, and trust. In short, in the new training year advances must be made in combat training and discipline in every unit and subunit.

Restructuring means comprehensively democratizing the life of Army and Navy collectives, establishing bolshevik comradeship in party organizations, developing glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism, making Komso-mol organizations' work creative and spontaneous, and revitalizing all our social institutions. It also means defining a principled line regarding most rigorous observance of military regulations, legality, and social justice. It means intensifying the social thrust of the work of military cadres. Party organizations must have their own program in all spheres and must seek to achieve progress step by step.

We must frankly admit that so far certain communists are lagging in interpreting the processes taking place. Many party committees and bureaus have not rid themselves of inertia and stereotyped thinking and action. Facts show that wherever work is conducted along the old lines rather than on the basis of life, the situation leaves much to be desired.

Take, for instance, the party committee of the tank regiment where Lieutenant Colonel N. Plis works as secretary (Group of Soviet Forces in Germany). At a cursory glance it would seem that this party committee tried to take an interest in all aspects of the life and combat training of the regiment. The main thing was lacking, however: a clear understanding of the specific features of work in the current spirit, new approaches, and perseverance in trying to achieve the required results. For instance, the party committee more than once heard reports from Major S. Yershov, commander of a subunit, and his deputy for political affairs, Major V. Isayev, but these hearings were merely formal and therefore the state of military discipline in the subunit did not improve. On the whole, the regiment failed to achieve progress. It performed below its potential during the past training year.

The new stage of restructuring persistently demands greater militancy from all party organizations. Political organ personnel should concentrate their efforts on the party's grassroots components, where all the threads of restructuring meet and the success of the cause is decided. They should not be guided by a desire to seek out shortcomings and negative facts to report them "to the top," but by a desire to conduct organizational work, to be aware of the real state of affairs in units and on ships, and to give them real assistance. It is important to show great solicitude toward the experience accumulated by party organizations in the process of restructuring, especially regarding experience in intensifying party influence on combat training and the reinforcement of military discipline, improving ideological work, developing party democracy, and establishing a responsible attitude toward military service on the part of personnel.

The thrust of restructuring in the Armed Forces and its main aim must be to enhance the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces in the interests of the might of our socialist fatherland. Sincere interest in this on the part of every communist is an indispensable precondition of our progress. The example set by communist leaders is especially important in ensuring that this progress is dynamic and gathers momentum. Commanders, political organs, and party organizations are called upon to ensure that the Leninist style of work and strict and unswerving implementation in letter and spirit of the requirements of military regulations are established in the work of military cadres.

The new stage of restructuring demands of every party organization that it step up its political, organizational,

and ideological activity, learn to understand people, and channel their efforts into the solution of the main tasks. In this context the party committee and bureau report meetings and the party aktiv meetings on the progress of restructuring which are being held on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference be the start of a major turnaround toward a healthier situation and increased militancy on the part of primary party organizations and become a time of special mutual exactingness by communists regarding their contribution to strengthening combat readiness and military discipline in the new academic year and greeting the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces in a worthy fashion.